

# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of September, 1954,  
[SEAL] Helen F. Crane. (My commission expires March 30, 1955.)



# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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## LISZT AND LONGFELLOW

By EDWARD N. WATERS

NO musician of the past hundred years has fascinated the American public more than Franz Liszt—and none has seemed to have less in common with American thought or American creative endeavor. The mystery of his personality, so obvious yet so inexplicable, and the brilliance of his achievements, narrated and exemplified by innumerable students and disciples, readily caught our public fancy and to a large extent still hold it. He was the romantic figure supreme; his was an existence so filled with emotional tension that Americans could only gape with awe tinged with some malice, much envy, tremendous admiration. But he belonged to a different world, a different civilization, and the possibility of any *rapprochement* other than romantic adulation would appear difficult to effect.

A number of Americans were indebted to Liszt, but two of them surprisingly so, and from one of this pair came the inspiration for a choral-orchestral work that surely deserves revival and reappraisal. First there was the portrait painter, Healy, to whom we owe two of the best portraits of Liszt ever executed. The composer "sat" for both of them, willingly helping his American friend to produce extraordinarily faithful likenesses. The two pictures are in this country. Though not unknown they are largely forgotten, but European scholars seem to be completely and unjustifiably unaware of them.

The other American one would never suspect, he being no less than Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. This patron saint of American school children, this personification of rectitude and creator of inspirational verse, himself sought out Liszt and was directly responsible for one of the Healy portraits. Liszt in turn set a fragment of one of Longfellow's most important poems to music, and even ventured a musical representation of the mood expressed by the poet's immortal *Excelsior*. When the music of each was completed and associated together, Liszt wrote the poet for permission to dedicate the combined work to him. This important letter (appearing in the *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* for November 1954 as part of the annual report of the Librarian of Congress) is here presented to musicians and musicologists for the first time. It is the stimulus for this essay, which, in addition to reproducing the missive, attempts to shed some new light on Liszt and his habits, and describes for the first time the fruitful meeting of the poet and the composer.<sup>1</sup>

In 1868 Liszt had been living in Rome for some years. His dream of Weimar as a center of art had vanished; his determination to marry Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein (in 1861) had been wrecked by papal disapproval; he had taken minor orders in the Church in 1865 and assumed the humble title of abbé. His earlier fame and his extraordinary decisions made him a marked man, subject to gossip, criticism, censure, and idolization. He was no recluse, notwithstanding a more sheltered life than heretofore, and his existence was a curious blend of spirituality, religiosity, and secular recreation. Whatever his disappointments, he concealed them well, preserving a vivacity that was "always most attractive."<sup>2</sup> He may have been "Mephistopheles disguised as an abbé,"<sup>3</sup> but he was a charming devil who offended no one. Simultaneously he was a cleric and a man of the world, and this peculiar combination did no harm to his reputation. He was successful in each role.

Across the ocean in sober New England, living a life far different

<sup>1</sup> It would have been quite impossible to write this article without the generous help and cooperation of Thomas H. de Valcourt, Curator of the Longfellow House in Cambridge, Mass., who supplied many unpublished documents never used by Liszt investigators. His assistance is most gratefully acknowledged.

Equally helpful was Dr. Martin Cremer, of the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg a. d. Lahn, Germany, who assisted in procuring microfilms of materials in the Liszt-Museum, Weimar.

<sup>2</sup> F. Gregorovius, *The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius, 1852-1874*. Ed. by Friedrich Althaus and transl. from the 2nd German ed. by Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton. London, 1907, pp. 247-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

from the good abbé's, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was preparing to pay his final visit to Europe. His habits were not as austere as school teachers assert, but they scarcely followed the same pattern as the composer's. Furthermore, he was a Protestant, and his deeply felt religious experience diverged widely from Liszt's spiritual thoughts and feelings. The poet was, however, extremely sensitive to music in all its forms, and he liked to associate with musicians. If they were known to be of high moral character, so much the better—and it is no rash assumption that Liszt's donning the cassock, after a checkered career, increased Longfellow's sympathy and admiration.

It must be stressed that Longfellow liked music and those who made and played it. He himself played the flute as a boy, and as a young man on his first trip to Europe he took his instrument along. His playing seemed to diminish as he grew older, but his listening increased, and his too little known journal contains numerous references to music that are meaningful and illuminating. Perhaps some of his reactions appear naive today, for he liked certain pieces that would now not be tolerated, yet his favorite composers were Mozart and Beethoven, and his favorite diversion was evidently the opera. Willing to listen to new idioms, he entered his judgments honestly in his journal and showed a readiness to go forward with the times. On December 3, 1853, he wrote: "With Mrs. Howe at the Germania Concert. It was mostly Wagner's music,—beginning with the celebrated overture to *Tannhäuser*. Strange, original, and somewhat barbaric."<sup>4</sup> Beethoven overpowered him, of course, and the Choral Symphony forced this brief, almost poetic effusion from his pen (on March 26, 1859): "Club dinner. Evening at the concert,—Beethoven's *Egmont* and *Ninth Symphony*. It being the anniversary of his death, all was Beethoven, and very splendid,—a sea of sound, with breaking, dashing waves."<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately Longfellow had a sense of humor and a sense of proportion. He never felt that the concert hall or the opera house had any special sanctity, and when a spectacle began to unnerve him he candidly said so, as on January 23, 1856: "After dinner, went to the opera and heard '*Norma*,' whose beautiful music I like; but the opera itself—its Druids and Romans and sheeted chorus and prima donnas, looking as if they had just jumped out of bed—has grown very tedious to me. I was in an ab-Normal condition."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, with extracts from his journals and correspondence. Boston, 1886, II, 237.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 333.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 273.

The poet was introduced to Liszt's music at least as early as 1840, for on June 16 of that year he wrote: "Called to see Rakemann. He played to me a lovely piece by Liszt,—*Une Nuit dans les Montagnes*,—a Swiss picture."<sup>7</sup> And some years later he credited Liszt with adding to the enjoyment of an evening's entertainment (June 3, 1846): "A small musical party at our house. We had music of Chopin, Schubert, De Meyer, Liszt, and some German songs. A delightful evening."<sup>8</sup> When he traveled to Europe for the fourth and last time, the name of no contemporary musician was better known to him than Liszt's, and the meeting of the two men was a happy circumstance for both.

As Longfellow embarked on his final voyage to the Old World, he was something of a national hero. Many of his poems formed the chief poetic diet of thousands of Americans, and the academic world knew him as a distinguished scholar and remarkable linguist. His high reputation, moreover, was known almost as well in Europe as in the United States. Culturally he was an internationalist, his three previous trips abroad having made him a master of many literatures and tongues. This last leisurely jaunt to the Continent, where he had already explored France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, was nearly as much of a spiritual homecoming as it was a venture into foreign lands. He knew their legends and he knew their people, and the American wishes for a happy journey were no more fervent than the cries of welcome from the Europeans.

He sailed from New York on May 27, 1868, in the *Russia*,<sup>9</sup> bound for Liverpool. It was not to be a lonely trip, for the closest members of his family were with him—a son and new daughter-in-law (the real instigators of the voyage), three daughters, two sisters, a brother, and a brother-in-law (Thomas G. Appleton). One of the sisters, Mrs. Anne Longfellow Pierce, was to give an excellent eye-witness account of Liszt at an important meeting in the winter.

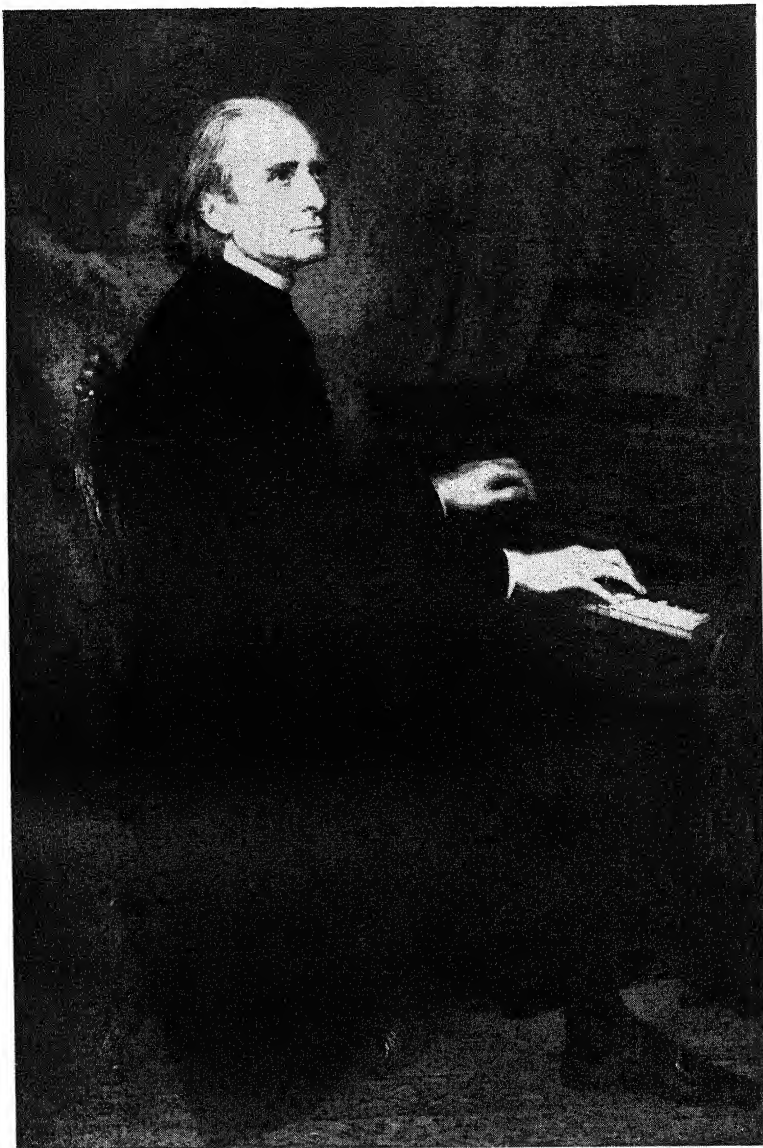
Travel was comfortably slow, and after reasonable sojourns in various places (including England, the Rhine country, Switzerland, Paris, and Florence) Longfellow arrived in Rome on December 18.<sup>10</sup> Here he was to stay for some time, looking up old friends, making new ones, and mingling much with a society that was stimulating and novel. He himself made an excellent impression in this cultivated *milieu*, one admirer

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 359. (Probably *Un soir dans les montagnes* from the *Album d'un Voyageur*.)

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 41.

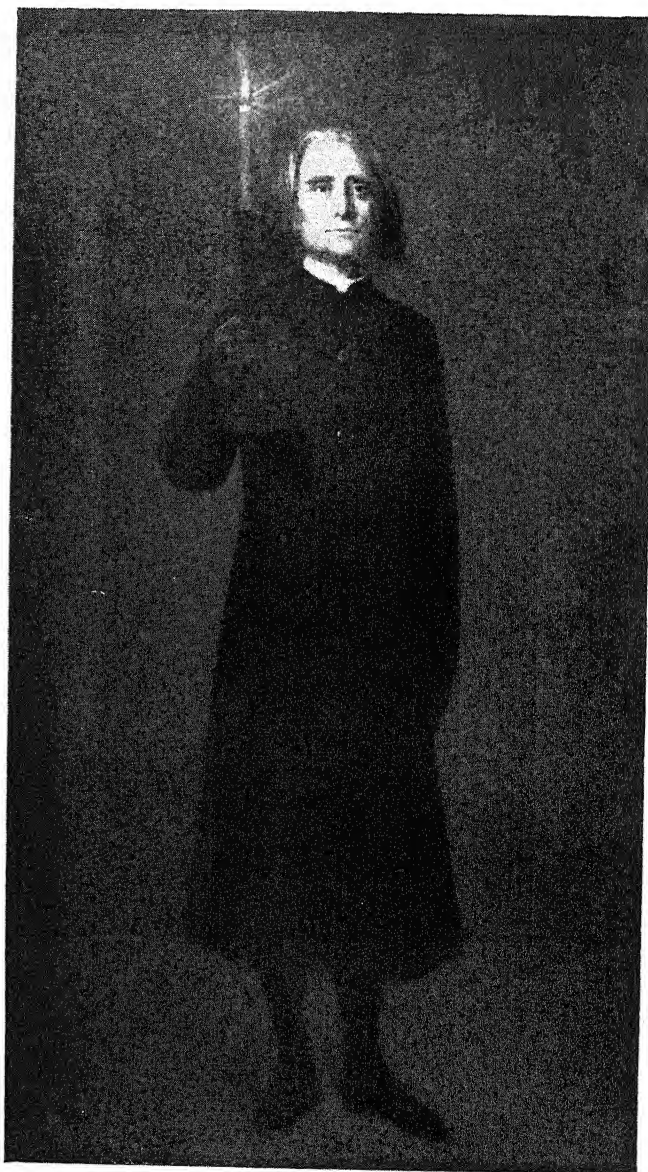
<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 438ff.

<sup>10</sup> Information from Mr. de Valcourt.



Franz Liszt, by G. P. A. Healy, the portrait that first caught Longfellow's attention. (Original in the Newberry Library, Chicago, which has kindly permitted the reproduction here.)





Franz Liszt, by G. P. A. Healy, painted in Rome at Longfellow's request. (Original in the Longfellow House, Cambridge, which has kindly permitted the reproduction here.)



Illustre Poète,

Lors de notre rencontre à Rome  
vous avez bien voulu demander  
à Monsieur Healy un tableau  
de genre qui nous représente  
tous deux à l'entrée de Santa  
"Francesca romana". Permettez-moi  
d continuer ce sympathique  
rapprochement, en vous dédiant  
la composition musicale de votre  
poème : "Les Cloches de la cathédrale  
de Strasbourg" - avec le préface  
inspiré au génie par une de vos poésies.  
"Excellence" ! -

Autograph letter, hitherto unknown, from  
Liszt to Longfellow, offering the poet the  
dedication of *Die Glocken des Strassburger  
Münsters*; now in the Library of Congress.

Excellence de la poésie  
de la prose et de la musique.  
Elles chantent merveilleusement  
aux siècles et aux jours.  
L'exaltation de l'âme humaine  
et accompagnent ainsi le  
"Suzanna Corda" qui retentit  
chaque jour dans les églises  
et les cloches.

"Vigilantes omnes,  
"Laudemus Deum verum."

F. Liszt

22 novembre 74.

(Villa d'Este)

Second page of the autograph letter from  
Liszt to Longfellow.

describing him thus: "He has a fine head; striking features, liberal and open; white hair and a white beard—is entering on old age in full possession of his energies. Speaks German exceedingly well, as also all literary languages. His translation of Dante is extolled as first-rate."<sup>11</sup>

One of the first friends Longfellow called on in Rome was the American artist, George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-94), then widely known in both Europe and America as an outstanding portrait painter. Time has taken some luster from his fame, but he was an expert craftsman, whose likenesses seemed to have a photographic accuracy. More than once, in America, Longfellow had sat for Healy, although he was no blind worshipper of his countryman's work.<sup>12</sup>

Upon renewing his friendship with Healy, Longfellow was especially attracted to one portrait in the artist's studio. Healy himself described the incident and how it led to the historic meeting of musician and poet.

In my studio the picture he looked at most often was a large portrait of Liszt seated at his piano. I had recently painted it, and I told the poet how, during the sittings, Liszt had played, for hours at a time. I showed him casts I had had taken of the musician's hands; and these greatly interested him, for they were extraordinary,—thin, nervous, and well shaped; revealing much of the man's passionate, unquiet, earnest nature.

Liszt in those days—L'abbé Liszt, as he liked to be called: he had taken minor orders—had his lodging in an old convent close to the Forum. Longfellow expressed a desire to see the great musician; and as I had remained on good terms with my sitter, I asked permission to present the American poet to him.<sup>13</sup>

The Liszt portrait so recently finished by Healy, and practically unknown to students of Liszt iconography, now belongs to the Newberry Library in Chicago. Its execution had given its creator hours of untold delight, for the greatest pianist of all time seems to have played constantly while the artist was at work. Healy had caused a grand piano to be placed in his studio for this very purpose, and Liszt gave him a feast of music such as few were ever privileged to hear.<sup>14</sup>

Healy promptly set about arranging the meeting of Longfellow and Liszt, and he was eminently successful in his modest scheming. His first step is not known, but the results show that he planned a double attack,

<sup>11</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, II, 203.

<sup>13</sup> G. P. A. Healy, *Reminiscences of a Portrait Painter*, Chicago, 1894, pp. 219-20.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Charles Bigot, *Life of George P. A. Healy*, by his daughter, privately printed, 1913?, p. 36.

by inviting Liszt to his home for dinner and by offering to bring the poet to the composer's monastic dwelling. Longfellow was a strong lure to the rather lonely musician, and the two men met several times, apparently to their mutual satisfaction. A startling by-product of this association was what might have been a close friendship between Longfellow's sister, Mrs. Pierce, and Liszt's long-time companion, Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein (who evidently took rather a fancy to the New England bard). It would seem difficult to imagine two less congenial ladies.

Upon hearing from Healy, Liszt began his own plans for meeting with the distinguished poet. The first thing he had to do was to decline an invitation from an eminent churchman, probably Francesco Nardi, attached to the papal court. On Monday, December 28, 1868, the composer penned the following note to his clerical colleague.

Monseigneur,

Shortly before receiving your kind note I had made an engagement with a fellow-countryman of Mr. Longfellow to become acquainted with the illustrious poet Thursday at Santa Francesca Romana. So please excuse me if I do not take advantage this time of your friendly invitation, and accept, dear Monseigneur, the expression of very respectful devotion

from your very humble servant  
F. Liszt

Monday evening.<sup>15</sup>

The next day, December 29, Liszt sent his acceptance and agreement to Healy, referring to the painter's dinner on the following Monday (January 4) and to the visit of Longfellow and Healy on Thursday (December 31).

A thousand thanks, Monsieur, for your kind invitation, which I accept with great pleasure, for next *Monday*. I shall be delighted to make the acquaintance of the illustrious poet, Mr. Longfellow, and shall expect you, as agreed, *Thursday* after 5 o'clock, at *Santa Francesca Romana*. Please accept, Monsieur, the assurance

<sup>15</sup> Monseigneur,

Peu avant de recevoir votre aimable billet j'avais pris rendez-vous avec un compatriote de Mr. Longfellow pour faire connaissance avec l'illustre poète jeudi prochain à Santa Francesca romana. Veuillez donc m'excuser si je ne profite pas cette fois de votre bienveillante invitation, et agréez, cher Monseigneur, l'expression du très respectueux dévouement

de votre très humble serviteur  
F. Liszt

Lundi soir.

Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt; original in the Longfellow House.

of my most respectful greetings

F. Liszt

Tuesday—<sup>16</sup>

Evidently Healy received Liszt's message the next day, for that same morning he dashed off a short letter to Longfellow telling him that all arrangements seemed to be firmly made. He, too, was confronted by the slight difficulty of referring to the later event (the dinner) before the more imminent excursion to Liszt's retreat.

Wednesday morning

My dear Mr. Longfellow I beg to say M. Liszt & M. Hébert will be happy to meet you and Mr. Appleton to dinner at my house 41. Via di Porta Pinciana. next Monday at 6 o'clock.

I will call for you at 10 minutes to 5 on Thursday as Liszt will not be at home until after that hour. Sincerely your friend.

Geo. P. A. Healy<sup>17</sup>

It was obvious that Healy was planning quite a dinner party. M. Hébert was undoubtedly Antoine Auguste Ernest Hébert, a celebrated French painter who at that time was director of the French Academy in Rome. Appleton, as mentioned earlier, was Longfellow's brother-in-law.

But the visit to Liszt came first, and late in the afternoon of December 31 Longfellow and Healy went to the old convent close by the Forum to see the great musician. The American artist left his own record of that rare experience.

. . . we drove together to the old monastery [Santa Francesca Romana] and rang at Liszt's private entrance. It was already quite dark in the vestibule, the door of which was opened by means of an interior cord. No servant was visible. But the abbé himself came forward to greet us, holding a Roman lamp high up, so as to see his way. The characteristic head, with the long iron-gray hair, the sharp-cut features and piercing dark eyes, the tall, lank body draped in the priestly garb, formed so striking a picture that Mr. Longfellow exclaimed under his breath: "Mr. Healy, you must paint that for me!"

Our visit was most agreeable, for, when he chose, no man was more fascinating than Liszt. He played for us on his fine American piano, with which he was

<sup>16</sup> Mille remerciements, Monsieur, de votre aimable invitation que j'accepte avec grand plaisir pour *lundi* prochain. Je serai charmé de faire connaissance avec l'illustre poète, Mr. Longfellow, et vous attendrai, comme nous en sommes convenus, *jeudi* après 5 heures, à *Santa Francesca romana*. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments très distingués

F. Liszt

Mardi—

Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt; original owned by Miss Marie de Mare, Healy's granddaughter, of New York City.

<sup>17</sup> Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt; original in the Longfellow House.

delighted; then he showed us over his bachelor establishment, which was by no means the cell of an austere monk; and evidently wished to make a good impression on his illustrious visitor.

Taking advantage of this amiable disposition, I told him how much we had both been struck by his appearance as he came toward us, light in hand. He willingly consented to sit, and I made a small picture, as exact a reproduction as possible of what we had seen, and which gave great pleasure to Longfellow.<sup>18</sup>

This was Healy's second portrait of Liszt, almost as little known as the first, yet a striking likeness free of exaggeration and sentiment. The painter's verbal description well applies to the figure in the picture—gaunt and lanky, sharp features, the sombre cassock contrasting vividly with the face which catches the maximum of light from the candle. It is noteworthy that Healy seemed to have some reservations about Liszt's disposition, remarking that the composer could be fascinating "when he chose." Swayed by this opinion, the viewer of the picture wonders what moods and torments lurk behind the piercing eyes as they stare from the darkened doorway towards the visitors seeking entrance. The portrait is one of the treasured possessions of the Longfellow House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but few of the tourists there realize its significance, how it came into being, or that Longfellow himself was directly responsible for its creation.<sup>19</sup>

Then came the Healy dinner, on January 4, 1869, and again Liszt chose to exhibit his amiability. The guests seem all to have been men, but the ladies of the Healy family were understandably nervous and on edge. Edith Healy, the painter's daughter, hinted at their perturbation in her journal as she jotted down her reflections several days later (January 7). Perhaps she was more nervous than the rest, for Liszt escorted her to the table, and after dinner asked her to play the harp. Her brief account is quite graphic, ending with an observation that carries a sting.

. . . After that began our preparation for our party and dinner. At last every room was arranged, looking so nice, we were dressed and waiting when twang went the bell and soon walked in Mr. Longfellow followed by Mr. Tom Appleton, then came Mr. Hebert and then Liszt; our dinner party was assembled. . . . Liszt took me in . . . I am thankful to say that the dinner was perfect, the fish was the admiration of all present. I breathed more freely when it was all over. Liszt made himself most agreeable to me; after dinner we went back to the parlor where we took coffee after which Liszt insisted on my playing on the harp for him, which

<sup>18</sup> G. P. A. Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

<sup>19</sup> In the Longfellow House is a letter from Healy to Longfellow, dated Nov. 23, 1869, in which the artist announces he has painted a "whole length of Liszt, size of life." He admits that "the head and background are not well rendered." I know nothing more of this painting.

I did without any fuss. I played M. Pessard's piece which Liszt liked so much that he insisted on my playing it again which as a matter of course I did not do as well as the first time. He had another engagement for that evening so after complimenting me in the highest way and inviting our family and that of Mr. Longfellow for the next day to hear him play, he took his leave to go to the horrid Princess Scilla.<sup>20</sup>

The bitter or scornful reference to Liszt's Princess, whereby she was identified with a monster, could not have been accidental. It shows that in certain quarters, at least, the Russian noblewoman was neither accepted nor condoned, and that Liszt was probably pitied for having to maintain the relationship.

Intent on entertaining the rather large group of Americans, and still in the best of spirits, Liszt welcomed both the Longfellow and Healy families to his abode on Tuesday afternoon, January 5. A lively account of the episode is preserved in the journal<sup>21</sup> of Mrs. Anne Longfellow Pierce, the poet's sister, who, though ill versed in music, had a keen sense of detail and effect.

This time the guests arrived early in the afternoon and were admitted by a servant. Passing through a vestibule, they entered a hall where the gentlemen were asked to leave their coats. From a large inner room Liszt came to greet them—"a lithe figure, dressed in long black coat, black small clothes, silk stockings, kid shoes with silver buckles—iron grey bushy hair, combed back from his forehead, falling thick and long about his neck behind—a most interesting pale face, high forehead, large nose, and a mouth of unusual firmness." Smiling and cordial, he shook hands all around as he was introduced to each person. In one corner of the large room, plain but "spacious, lofty and elegant," was a large grand piano, a Chickering, which Liszt claimed he now liked the best of all. It did not escape Mrs. Pierce that the piano was closed and covered with a thick layer of dust. The pianist confessed that sometimes two months would go by without his touching the keyboard.

After a short period of cheerful conversation, in French, Liszt carelessly opened the piano, struck a few random notes in the bass, sat down before the keys and began to play.

. . . And such playing—every note in the instrument, flat and sharp, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to be in equal use—now here, now there, and then all together—fingers & sweep—such fingering, his soul seemed to be in their very ends—such hands, they seemed no longer human—but like phantom hands sweeping

<sup>20</sup> Extract from the diary of Edith Healy, owned by Miss Marie de Mare of New York City; supplied by T. H. de Valcourt.

<sup>21</sup> Extracts supplied by T. H. de Valcourt, from the Longfellow House.

and doubling over the keys—wafting above them, and dropping as it were showers of music—trills of harmony—shots, shells and trumpets—and distinct breathings of softest notes—most marvellous—the fine face still pale but aglow with feeling—the body in perfect repose but every inch alive—don't ask what he played for I don't know . . .

Mrs. Pierce called him “the weird player,” and she was not far wrong, just as her description of his performance, while rhapsodic, was impressionistically correct.

Another amateur, but thoroughly credible, report of the master's playing was supplied by a younger member of the audience, Longfellow's daughter Alice. Several days after the event, on January 8, she commenced a letter to a friend, but she was so excited by her Roman experiences that one day's writing failed to suffice. When she returned to her letter, on the 10th, she recalled the pianistic display.

We had a great treat last week in hearing Liszt play. He is a tall, thin man with gray hair brushed straight back & dressed in a long coat, black stockings, & shoes with buckles. He is an abbé, which seems to be quite different from a priest. He received us at his rooms in the Convent, where he has a fine grand piano, presented to him by Chickering. I never imagined such wonderful playing before. His hands were all over the piano; I don't believe he left a note untouched. Some of it was very soft & sweet, & some loud & decidedly showing off. It was enough to make any ordinary mortal despair of ever playing at all.<sup>22</sup>

The maiden's judgment cannot be criticized. Liszt enjoyed “showing off” on any occasion, but this trait should not be cited to impugn his sincerity or genuine hospitality.

When Liszt finished his playing, he put on his glasses and carefully looked at his auditors to see how appreciative they were. Apparently satisfied, he said he would play again; first, however, he wanted to show the gentlemen another room, his study, where some pictures by Dürer were to be seen. No ladies were admitted to this more personal chamber. When he returned to the piano, he said he would play something like a waltz, but a waltz itself would not do in these surroundings. He announced this with “a shrug and laugh,” and Mrs. Pierce noted the contrast of his sombre costume with his “merry nature.” The additional unidentified selection Mrs. Pierce described so: “In character it was different from the first but very brilliant and beautiful—the same execution—the same magic hands—the same fascinating sweeping of the keys—the same delicate touch.” Longfellow was delighted and expressed warm thanks and admiration.

<sup>22</sup> Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt, from the Longfellow House.



Mrs. Pierce reflected upon Liszt's romantic past and wrote a few lines to remind herself of his present situation: "A little story explains the home of this celebrated musician in a Convent—of a love affair with the wife of a Count, or something, to whom the Pope would not allow a divorce that she might marry him—the husband had died but His Holiness having made the gay musician an Abbé meantime, he is still held in celibacy." Liszt was unaware of these naive thoughts, but he assumed that his guests were more or less familiar with his attachment to the Princess. As the visitors were departing, Liszt seized Longfellow by both hands and, in a very jolly manner, suggested that tomorrow he would take the poet to meet "the lady the Pope would not let him marry." It is obvious that the composer had developed a strong liking for the man from Cambridge.

One more delightful touch fell from Mrs. Pierce's pen regarding this memorable afternoon, for it vivifies the environment in which Liszt dwelt. "Before we left a youthful brother, prelate, or whatnot, came in dressed in garb of brown, a fresh young martyr who looked astonished, but not displeased, at the bevy of ladies present."

Evidence to the contrary lacking, Liszt took Longfellow and at least Mrs. Pierce to meet Princess Carolyne as he had proposed. Certainly the Americans' acquaintance with the curious noblewoman began soon after the visit to Santa Francesca Romana, for the two ladies became quite friendly and exchanged several letters. The Princess's letters are preserved, as are the drafts of the letters that Mrs. Pierce wrote in reply.<sup>23</sup> The final letters on each side reveal the flourishing state of their sympathetic friendship.

Dear Mrs. Pierce — Having a foot a little soar [*sic*] I am not able to make so much stairs — Nevertheless I should be very sorry to let you leave Rome without telling you once more goodbye — without asking you to remember me to your brother, whose memory will doubly live now in our hearts—the poet is [indecipherable word] between all those who know to comprehend and appreciate his ideal.

I have no right to be remembered—permit me then to put in your pious hands a little token of my gratitude for your kindness and obliging gift — In offering you a blossom borne on Roman ground, I looked for an artistical one, and also for such a one as would have pleased the pious preacher of God's word whose beautiful thoughts you gave me. Here is then a Cameo—Roman art—etched by Saulini our most famous artist, friend and collaborator in the way of Thorwaldsen — The head is copied of a monument remounting [*sic*] to the VIII century — You will find on the Cameo the name of the artist and the date of the monument. They require good eyes to be read.

<sup>23</sup> Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt, from the Longfellow House.

I hope Madame you will keep this little thing as an agreeable [*sic*] keepsake of Rome and of one to which you inspired the most sincere esteem and sympathy

Pr Carolyne Wittgenstein

This note, with its reference to Longfellow, and the thoughtful gift impressed Mrs. Pierce deeply. She lost no time in drafting her acknowledgment.

On returning from our eveg drive I find the agreeable surprise of your very kind note and most choice gift—

I shall value very much your exquisite souvenir of Rome—and the little incident of the book—and the gracious words it won me from you—is linked together in this token. I am delighted that you have seen and admired my dear brother—when you asked me the other day if I was not *proud* of him, I wanted to say in reply, that he was in every way so good, and true, and noble, that I loved him far more as my brother, than for his genius.

Of my personal interviews in Rome the two that will live most pleasantly in my memory, permit me to say, will be the great favor I have enjoyed of seeing and hearing the Abbé Liszt and the Princess whose acquaintance I have so pleasantly made. How often in America I shall recall them both, with pleasure. Accept my most cordial thanks—gratefully & truly yrs.

Anne L. Pierce

Feb. 18th. 1869.

If it was time for the Longfellow party to move on, the poet was in no hurry to reach home. He did not arrive in Cambridge (Mass.) until the first of September, and then he began to wait for new possessions that were following him from Europe. One of the items he was impatient for was Healy's candle-holding portrait of Liszt, and he noted with particular satisfaction that he found it at the Customs House on September 18.<sup>24</sup> He also noted that it was admitted duty free. Viewing it at leisure, he was surely reminded of the composer and the experience of his music and hospitality.

Liszt had no difficulty in remembering their meeting. Nearly a year and a half later he attempted to press Longfellow into service on behalf of a fellow musician, no less a person than Leopold Damrosch. This serious artist came to America in 1871, launching a career of the utmost significance to his adopted country. Eager for the young man's success, Liszt wrote a short note to Longfellow, which implicitly revealed his desires.

<sup>24</sup> S. Longfellow, *Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Boston, 1887, p. 122.

*Cher illustre,*

Allow me to introduce to you Dr. Damrosch—an artist of great merit and one of my most distinguished friends—whom I recommend to your favor. I beg you to accept sentiments of deep esteem and warm personal remembrance from

Your completely devoted

admirer

F. Liszt

Pest, February 28, 1871.<sup>25</sup>

Longfellow was quite ready to receive young Damrosch, but the latter promptly settled in New York and labored there thenceforth. The poet was aware that this was happening. More than a year elapsed before he replied to Liszt, and in all that time Damrosch had sought no audience with him. At his relatively advanced age Longfellow was not going to chase after him, as his letter to Liszt clearly indicates.

Cambridge Oct 18

1872

My Dear Sir,

Be kind enough to accept this volume from me, in memory of pleasant hours passed in Rome, and of your kindness to me there. To me those are memorable days.

Your portrait, with the light, hangs in my library. It always gives me pleasure to look upon it; and not less to all who see it. I have commissioned Mr. Zerdahelyi to bear you my most cordial greetings, and am, my Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

Henry W. Longfellow.

P. S. Many thanks for your note of introduction to Mr. Damrosch [*sic*]. I shall be delighted to see him; but he still lingers in New York. I trust I shall soon have the pleasure of receiving him here.

The volume Longfellow referred to was an 1869 edition of *Evangeline*, on the flyleaf of which he wrote:

Franz Liszt

with kind remembrances  
of the Author.

Cambridge, America

October 20, 1872.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cher illustre,

Permettez moi de vous présenter Mr le Dr Damrosch, — artiste de haut mérite et un de mes amis les plus distingués — que je recommande à votre bienveillance en vous priant d'agréer les sentiments de haute estime et d'affectueux souvenir personnel de

votre tout dévoué

admirateur

F. Liszt

Pest — 28 février 71.

Supplied by T. H. de Valcourt; original in the Longfellow House.

<sup>26</sup> Longfellow's autograph letter and the inscribed book are still in the Longfellow House. It is unknown whether they ever reached Liszt or were even dispatched to him.

Liszt had left Rome before Longfellow, going to Weimar, which remained almost a second home. The Princess, much impressed by the American poet, was already persuading her friend to write music for some of his words. The famous *Excelsior* had struck her forcefully, and she voiced her desire for a musical setting. On February 4, 1869, Liszt wrote her from Weimar and promised to grant her wish soon: "I shall try to compose Longfellow's *Excelsior* for you on returning to Rome." Sixteen days later, on the 20th, perhaps after receiving another reminder, he assured the Princess that he would ask for a copy of *Excelsior* in Leipzig.<sup>27</sup>

In Liszt's published letters to the Princess there now occurs a fairly long interval with no mention of Longfellow, but on December 2, 1873, the composer, in Pest, refers to him again. It is obvious that Carolyne has been pleading for a setting of the Prologue to *The Golden Legend*, and that Liszt is receptive to the idea. He does not wish to work with the English text, however, and he clearly suggests that the task, as he already conceives it, may be more formidable than the Princess imagines.

I have just received your letter of November 24-27. The idea of Longfellow's poetic dialogue, in which the Strasbourg belfry is the chief character, is particularly attractive. Make me a gift of this poetry, with a preliminary German or French translation—since I barely understand common prose in English—for New Year's, 74. It is quite impossible for me to write any notes before next year. All my time must be devoted to letters and unavoidable niceties—which my trip to Vienna will scarcely lessen! I am by no means convinced of the shortness of such a composition. It is easier for you to talk about it than it would be for me to write it—such a trifle as you imagine it to be!<sup>28</sup>

On Christmas Day he informed the Princess that, if translations were forthcoming, he might compose the Longfellow work or a ballad of Tolstoy; first, however, he had to write a piece for declamation (text by Moritz Jókai).<sup>29</sup> Fortunately the Longfellow poem (translation into German presumably done by the Princess) was soon in his hands, and he gave further consideration to its use. From Horpács he wrote to Carolyne on February 8, 1874:

Thanks for Longfellow's *The Golden Legend*. It is grandiose, but awkward to compose—perhaps I shall venture it, however. Meanwhile I have almost completed Jókai's ballad, *Des todten Dichter's Liebe*.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Franz Liszt's *Briefe an die Fürstin Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein. Dritter Theil*, Leipzig, 1902.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem.*, *Vierter Theil*, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

The Longfellow text is indeed grandiose, especially the Prologue, and Liszt may have felt that it presented a peculiar challenge. It is triumphantly religious, and Liszt needed a vehicle (strange as it may seem) of this nature in order to convince the Princess that his own faith was unwavering. There is little doubt that she plagued Liszt frequently with recriminations, while he defended himself with as much vigor as was seemly. Nor did he neglect to flatter the Princess with words that must have been written, some at least, with his tongue in his cheek. Immediately after receiving the Longfellow poem, he found himself in such a situation, and he cajoled and protested to the Princess shamelessly (on February 9).

The 18 pages of your letter are once more superb and sublime. Mentally I am prostrate before the depth of your feelings and intelligence. I contradict you this time only on the too great and too fine role you credit to my feeble genius—glorifying its bent while exaggerating its worth. Yes, dear Saint Carolyne, I am sincerely faithful and religious, and shall remain so until my final breath. Believe, therefore, that I run after neither ribbons nor performances of my works, nor praise, distinctions, and articles in the press, in any country whatever. My one ambition as a musician was and should be to cast my lance into the unlimited future—as we once used to say in Brendel's paper. As long as this lance is of good temper and falls not back to earth—nothing else matters to me.<sup>31</sup>

Knowing how to satisfy the Princess and really interested in the new project, Liszt approached the Longfellow poem seriously. By summer he was able to report good progress. He was now residing in the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, but slightly removed from Rome, in landscaped surroundings of beauty and peace. Here, on the fourth of July, 1874, he informed St. Carolyne:

The casting of the bells is making progress—next Saturday I shall bring them to you, all ready to sound their *bumbum*. In addition a *Prélude* to serve these bells—the same poet, Longfellow, gave me the motive: *Excelsior*.<sup>32</sup>

At last the Princess's older wish was to be fulfilled. *Excelsior* had inspired some music.

In spite of Liszt's promise of early delivery, much remained to be done on the piece. A very rough and incomplete draft (piano-vocal score) was finished and signed by Liszt on July 5,<sup>33</sup> and on the 9th he

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>33</sup> Autograph manuscript in the Liszt-Museum, Weimar; photocopy in the Library of Congress.

explained to Carolyne what work still faced him. At the same time he indicated a belief in the work's value, admitting frankly that it would cause others some displeasure.

Undoubtedly if the same musical jury were appointed to examine my bells: Mr. Hiller and his conservatory fellows, who recently judged the new bells of the Cologne Cathedral and labeled them false, unbearable, unworthy—I should be quite damned also. For all that, my casting seems to me a welcome one—perhaps there will also be others of my opinion when my bells begin to swing! I shall bring them to you all ready on Sunday morning—except for part of the instrumentation which requires ten more days or so. I do nothing but blacken music paper from morning to night.<sup>34</sup>

The work dragged on yet more slowly (he was laboring on something else, too), and on July 16 he still had some ten days' labor ahead.<sup>35</sup> Not until September 4 did he seem near the stage of publication, and then it was only the piano-vocal score.<sup>36</sup> The full score was not ready for the printer until October, copied by a young American pianist, Max Pinner, sent to study with Liszt by Leopold Damrosch.<sup>37</sup> The composer signed and dated this copy himself: "October 74—F. Liszt Villa d'Este." The copyist inscribed at the end: "Genau und gefälligst abgeschrieben von Max Pinner (aus New York)." It is not at all unlikely that he helped Liszt, by way of suggestion at least, adapt some of the notes to Longfellow's English words. In any case, an American poet and an American student-amanuensis make this a peculiarly American work.

Upon completion of the composition (including the prelude) Liszt turned his attention to dedication and publication, the latter being a more or less routine affair. J. Schuberth & Co. of Leipzig issued it as *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters* in 1875 in two forms, piano-vocal score and full score, each version having the text in German and English—except, of course, Longfellow's Latin refrains. The dedication, however, was another matter. Since the composer had taken unusual pains with the work, since he was peculiarly susceptible to literary inspiration, his thoughts turned naturally to Longfellow himself. He well remembered his meeting with the poet six years earlier, though with a slight, pardon-

<sup>34</sup> *Franz Liszt's Briefe, Vierter Theil*, p. 76.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>37</sup> According to a letter of May 11, 1954, from the Oeffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Berlin, to the Library of Congress, the location of Liszt's autograph full score is unknown ("z. Zt. nicht nachweisbar"). Pinner's manuscript copy, with additions in Liszt's hand, is in the Liszt-Museum, Weimar; a photocopy is in the Library of Congress.

able lapse of memory, and he determined to dedicate the composition to him. Liszt's autograph letter (in French) to Longfellow, offering the dedication, has at last come to the Library of Congress, a fitting repository for a document linking two geniuses, two arts, and two cultures.

Illustrious Poet,

When we met in Rome you kindly requested of Mr. Healy a genre picture showing the two of us at the entrance to "Santa Francesca Romana." Allow me to continue this sympathetic union by dedicating to you the musical composition of your poem: "The Bells of Strasbourg Cathedral"—with the prelude likewise inspired by one of your poems: "Excelsior"!—

*Excelsior!* That is the motto of poetry and music. Forever they sing the exaltation of the human soul to the ages and to the heavens, and thus accompany the "sursum corda" daily resounding in the churches and their *bells*.

"Vigilemus omnes"

"Laudemus Deum verum."

F. Liszt

November 22, 1874.

(Villa d'Este)<sup>38</sup>

No record has come to light confirming Longfellow's acceptance of the dedication, but the published score bears the phrase: "Gewidmet dem Dichter H. W. Longfellow." Presumably the poet granted Liszt's wish by sending him a note which has since disappeared. Longfellow was sensitive to honors of this sort and not inclined to treat them lightly or to ignore them.

Liszt's lapse of memory was in his faulty recollection of Healy's painting, in which the composer was the solitary figure.

It is important now to consider the musical setting Liszt produced. Ignored and unknown, winning extremely few performances, the work

<sup>38</sup> Illustre Poète,

Lors de notre rencontre à Rome vous avez bien voulu demander à Monsieur Healy un tableau de genre qui nous représente tous deux à l'entrée de "Santa Francesca romana." Permettez-moi de continuer ce sympathique rapprochement, en vous dédiant la composition musicale de votre poème: "les Cloches de la Cathédrale de Strassbourg" — avec le prélude inspiré aussi par une de vos poésies: "Excelsior"! —

*Excelsior!* C'est la devise de la poésie et de la musique. Elles chantent perpétuellement aux siècles et aux cieux, l'exaltation de l'âme humaine, et accompagnent ainsi le "sursum corda" qui retentit chaque jour dans les églises et leurs *cloches*.

"Vigilemus omnes"

"Laudemus Deum verum."

F. Liszt

22 novembre 74.

(Villa d'Este)

is impressive in many ways. The composer exerted great effort on it, and succeeded in writing a score that is uncommonly clear, dramatic, and effective. Moreover, it is not overly difficult, and its duration would extend to possibly twenty minutes. It deserves to become familiar to lovers of choral music, either sacred or secular. Of extraneous but not irrelevant interest is the fact that the opening bars of *Excelsior* present the theme that Wagner subsequently used as the "Love-Feast" (*Abend-mahl*) motif in *Parsifal*, but tracing its inspiration to the literature of Longfellow has been generally neglected.<sup>39</sup>

Liszt tried conscientiously to write music that would faithfully reflect Longfellow's meaning. This must be remembered when the score of *Die Glocken* is examined, heard, or played.

*Excelsior* is one of Longfellow's earlier poems, written on one night in 1841 (September 28), and finished at 3:30 A.M. Inspiration for it came from the seal of New York State, which contains a shield with a rising sun and a one-word motto, "Excelsior." Every school child in America learns the poem at one time or another, even though it has been called "silly symbolism,"<sup>40</sup> and is taught to believe there is something hallowed about the rhythmic verses. Longfellow himself, responding to an inquiry, clearly set forth the meaning of his lines.

I . . . very willingly give you my intention in writing it. This was no more than to display, in a series of pictures, the life of a man of genius, resisting all temptations, laying aside all fears, heedless of all warnings, and pressing right on to accomplish his purpose. His motto is Excelsior—"Higher." He passes through the Alpine village, through the rough, cold paths of the world, where the peasants cannot understand him, and where his watchword is in an "unknown tongue." He disregards the happiness of domestic peace and sees the glaciers—his fate—before him. He disregards the warning of the old man's wisdom and the fascinations of woman's love. He answers to all, "Higher yet!" The monks of St. Bernard are the representatives of religious forms and ceremonies, and with their oft-repeated prayer mingles the sound of his voice, telling them there is something higher than forms and ceremonies. Filled with these aspirations, he perishes, without having reached the perfection he longed for; and the voice heard in the air is the promise of immortality and progress ever upward.<sup>41</sup>

It is doubtful that Liszt was familiar with this explanation, but much of the sentiment would have appealed to him. The poetical text could have been elucidated by the Princess.

<sup>39</sup> Georg Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Köln. Katalog. Vierter Band: Musik-Autographen*, Cologne, 1916, No. 1603; also Arthur W. Marget, *Liszt and Parsifal*, in *The Music Review*, May, 1953. These are the best references explaining the Longfellow-Liszt-Wagner sequence.

<sup>40</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 385.

<sup>41</sup> H. W. Longfellow, *Poetical Works*, Boston & New York, 1904, I, 88-89.



*The Golden Legend* (the middle portion of an expansive Christian trilogy called *Christus: A Mystery*) was written in 1850-51. It is a fervent and deeply felt version of a medieval story based on Hartmann von der Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*. Longfellow's source for the fable was Mailáth's *Altdeutsche Gedichte*. He endeavored to show in his text "that through the darkness and corruption of the Middle Ages ran a bright deep stream of Faith, strong enough for all the exigencies of life and death." He chose his title because the story on which the poem was founded seemed "to surpass all other legends in beauty and significance."<sup>42</sup>

Liszt made no attempt to set any portion of the legend itself; he limited his composition to the dramatic prologue which sets the tone and atmosphere for the tale that follows. Lucifer and his forces of darkness try to wreck the tower of Strasbourg Cathedral, to hurl the clanging bells to the pavement, to smash the colored windows and the whole house of God. But the evil attack is repulsed, and Lucifer's cohorts depart for regions and objects that can be more easily overcome. God's saving power was believed to reside in the bells themselves, and Longfellow cited an old encyclopedia article to illustrate this belief.

"Let the bells be blessed, as the trumpets of the Church militant, by which the people are assembled to hear the word of God; the clergy to announce his mercy by day, and his truth in their nocturnal vigils: that by their sound the faithful may be invited to prayers, and that the spirit of devotion in them may be increased. The fathers have also maintained that demons, affrighted by the sound of bells calling Christians to prayers, would flee away; and when they fled, the persons of the faithful would be secure: that the destruction of lightnings and whirlwinds would be averted, and the spirits of the storm defeated."—*Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, art. "Bells."<sup>43</sup>

It must be pointed out, too, that the Strasbourg Cathedral had made a powerful impression on Longfellow years before. When he visited the city in 1836, the great building was an object that inspired veneration and awe, and he turned to it well nigh instinctively when needing an introduction to *The Golden Legend*. He confided to his journal (August 30, 1836):

Passed the morning at the cathedral,—the great wonder of Strasbourg. It surpasses my power of description. In truth, when I gaze on a grand Gothic edifice like this my feelings are too dreamy and indistinct to be described. They are like the buildings itself, so intricate, so curious, so grotesque withal, that words cannot embody them. Music perhaps might. The two round windows or *rosettes* are exquisitely beautiful.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 9-10, 532.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 532.

<sup>44</sup> S. Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Boston, 1886, I, 238.

His feeling that music might describe his reaction better than words is a curious, if meaningless, foretaste of the setting to come nearly forty years later.

Liszt decided that *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters* (*The Bells of Strasbourg Cathedral*) must be a richly sounding work. His ensemble consisted of 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 2 tenor trombones, bass trombone, tuba, timpani, cymbals, 2 harps, organ, strings, baritone solo, mezzo-soprano solo, and mixed chorus. In addition there were to be five bass bells tuned as follows: Eb, E, F, F#, G; if these were not available, a tamtam (gong) could be substituted.

The *Excelsior* prelude is a short, rather slow-moving piece calculated to express the ceaseless striving of the hapless youth of genius. It ends in a climactic *fortissimo* that seems the very bulwark of hope and expectation. The only text that Liszt chose for this piece was a series of repeated "excelsiors," sung by the mixed chorus (or men's chorus), with the word being three times uttered by a solo mezzo-soprano. The solo delivery makes special use of a figure from the "*Parsifal* motif" that opens the work. While enchanted by the word "excelsior" and its significance, Liszt attached no great importance to the vocal part of the prelude, the printed full score even bearing a notice that the prelude may be performed by the orchestra alone, without the voices.

The major part of the work is a florid, dramatic, dynamic, and sometimes violent composition, the successive sections of the music patterned after the moods and pictures described by Longfellow's verse. Here the bells come into use, but if they were available, they had to be used with discretion. Liszt wrote in German at the bottom of the first page: "The conductor must have the bells or the tamtam sounding in correct relation to the orchestra: neither too strong nor too weak." The part of Lucifer was given to a solo baritone, who had ample opportunity to rage and storm in true demoniac fashion.

The plan of Longfellow's prologue is explicit. Five times Lucifer calls upon his followers to perform their evil deeds, although his last appeal admits the invulnerability of the great cathedral. Five times his minions protest to Lucifer their failure to harm the house of God, the last reply pointing to regions of easier conquest. Five times Latin refrains (but not repeated verse) enter, representing the spirit of the bells and proclaiming their function for the benefit of mankind. Liszt himself tacked on at the end a short Latin phrase which does no violence to Longfellow's original and which offered an opportunity to build a musical coda of tremendous power.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cf. G. P. Upton, *The Standard Cantatas*, Chicago, 1888, p. 221ff.

The music coincides strictly with the text. Liszt adroitly reproduced the tortured declamation of Lucifer, the shrill despair of his followers, the dignified pseudo-chant of the bells, the cathedralesque aura of ultimate Christian righteousness. The noisy clash of warring elements, dissonant (for their day) harmonies, and twisted broken rhythms lend an audible reality to a scene that takes place, for the most part, in a fearsome atmosphere. The composition cannot escape the charge of being theatrical, yet the prologue text apparently serves the same purpose, laying a grand scenic background for the medieval story that ensues. The music is not profound, but it is effective, and in this respect, too, it parallels the words of the American poet. Liszt animated the poem fittingly, and a revival of the work, long overdue, would be to the credit of both composer and author.

There is one particularly strange, but noteworthy, feature about this composition. Liszt had asked the Princess for a translation because his knowledge of English was poor. He composed his music to a German text. He realized that there should be a musical setting for Longfellow's original words also, and he provided one, but in many places it differs remarkably from what he had written for the German. To be sure, the general melodic and metric outline is the same for both languages. There are, nevertheless, unusual rhythmic differences in the choral passages, proving that Liszt was not to be satisfied with the conventional adaptation of one phrase for two texts. And quite startling was his solution for some of the commands shouted by Lucifer. Here he unhesitatingly altered the melodic line in an attempt to adhere faithfully to the poet's native speech. This approach to an essential melodic and esthetic problem reveals Liszt as an exceptionally conscientious craftsman, who struggled (perhaps with Max Pinner's help) with a basic problem of verbal-musical prosody. A couple of examples attest the seriousness with which Liszt attacked the problem (see p. 22).

This musical procedure, highly commendable though rarely employed, was also followed elsewhere by Liszt. Traces of it, for instance, will be found in three of his songs (published in his *Gesamtausgabe*) in which linguistic demands excited his attention: *Johanna von Arc vor dem Scheiterhaufen* (text in German and French), *Lebe wohl!* (text in German and Hungarian), *Ungarns Gott* (text in German and Hungarian). Lest some of Liszt's detractors, of whom there are too many, feel that his young American student may have done more than offer suggestions, if he did that, they must remember that Pinner claimed to have copied the full score "exactly"—and this full score contains the English translation with its individual setting.

seize the loud, vo-cif-er-ous bells, and clash - ing,  
 fas - set an, gleich Un - ge - wit - tern, die - se  
 clang-ing to the pave - ment hurl  
 Glock - Ken, dass sie split-tern! Stürzt sie  
 them from their win - dy tow - - er!  
 dröhn - end von dem Thur - - - me!

Shake the case - ment! Break the paint - ed  
 Zerzt am Bau-e, brecht die Fenster! stosset ein,  
 panes, that flame with gold and crim-son scat - ter them like  
 stosset ein die bun - ten Scheiben! Mag kein Purpursplitter blei - ben;  
 leaves of au - - tumn, swept a-way be - fore the blast!  
 wie im Herbst das Laub ent - fällt!

The manuscript full score in Weimar proves, moreover, that Liszt himself was vitally interested in this linguistic problem. As first written and copied, the score embraced only the German text (except for the Latin refrains). At the bottom of each page where text occurs is the special setting for the English words, and on the page where the text begins, Liszt wrote in his own hand special instructions for the engraver:

NB. for the engraver: the *part of Lucifer* with English text is to be engraved in the full score, as well as in the *piano-vocal score*, on an extra music line *above* the same part. The English text cannot be set simply beneath the German text

because there are too many prosodic changes for which the notes are absolutely necessary. The same procedure must be observed for the chorus—just as in the copy of the piano-vocal score; consequently 3 more lines with English text. Where the Latin text enters, of course, there will be no double engraving. The engraver should accordingly follow exactly the copy of the piano-vocal score. F. Liszt.<sup>46</sup>

Liszt was eager to have his new work performed. Arrangements were made to launch it in Budapest on March 10, 1875, at a concert organized primarily for the benefit of Richard Wagner and his gigantic Bayreuth project. The inclusion of Liszt's piece, demanding a large chorus, increased the expenses and proportionately lessened the receipts; Wagner would consequently suffer at the box office. Liszt generously offered to withdraw his work, but it was finally retained on the program, and the composer consented to function also as a pianist, playing Beethoven's Concerto in E-flat major, Op. 73. He conducted *Die Glocken*, therefore, on this date, and entranced the listeners with his pianism, under the baton of Hans Richter. Wagner was present to direct three excerpts from the *Ring*.<sup>47</sup>

The concert was reported a brilliant success, all the pieces winning "frantic applause" from an audience that would gladly have heard each one again.<sup>48</sup> But any concert presenting two such celebrities as Liszt and Wagner, with the former acting as composer-conductor-pianist, would be a brilliant affair regardless of the musical results. It was not the fairest test for a work having its world première.

Five years later (March 23, 1880) *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters* was performed at a concert in Vienna, the entire program being devoted to Liszt's music, the composer again conducting. Here Liszt had the misfortune, probably anticipated, to run afoul of Eduard Hanslick. The choral novelty had this effect on him:

<sup>46</sup> NB. für den Stecher: Der *part* des *Lucifer* mit englischem Text soll in der Partitur so wie im *Clavierauszug*, über denselben Part, auf einer extra Noten Zeile gestochen werden. Es geht nicht den englischen Text einfach unter den deutschen zu setzen, weil zuviel prosodische Aenderungen vorkommen, wozu die Noten durchaus unentbehrlich sind. Das gleiche Verfahren soll bei dem Chor beobachtet werden—ganz so wie in der Abschrift des Clavierauszugs; folglich 3 Zeilen mehr, mit englischem Text. Wo der *lateinische* Text eintritt, findet natürlich keine Verdoppelung des Stiches statt. Der Stecher möge sich also genau nach der Abschrift des Clavierauszugs richten. F. Liszt.

<sup>47</sup> Franz Liszt's *Briefe, Vierter Theil*, p. 88ff.

Cosima Wagner, *Franz Liszt*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1911, pp. 56-57. (With the program of the concert.)

Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, New York, 1946, IV, 441.

<sup>48</sup> *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, March 19, 1875, p. 121.

It is not easy for us to give our opinion on Liszt's newest composition. We should never wish to lose sight of the high esteem owing to the man, the admiration due the ingenious musician, the respect finally that we pay to his age. And yet we must confess the particular impression left us by this work, with its great pretensions and sumptuous texture. The bells of Strasbourg Cathedral! They will resound in our ears for a long time. When this Christian legend, soaked in Turkish music, had reached the climax of its effects, when the most horrible dissonances followed one upon the other close and ever closer, the agonies of mistreated human voices mingled with the wild and raging chase of drums, horns, and trombones, and then the bells, again and again the bells—thus we had the feeling: music lay slain on the ground, and the Strasbourg bells were ringing out its burial.<sup>49</sup>

Two tamtams were used in place of the pitched bells that Liszt preferred, and the embittered Hanslick noted the substitution. He also referred to the expense of procuring the bells and the excessive weight they would have added to the orchestra platform.

This is a wholly unsatisfactory criticism, for it tells little about the music; and yet, though the work disturbed Hanslick's ear, the critic's words seem to tell us that the music reproduced the strife and destruction explicit in Longfellow's text.

A much better criticism and description of the music came from Boston, where, on March 3, 1886, the Boylston Club performed it in the Music Hall. (This may have been the first performance in America.) Unfortunately Longfellow had been dead several years, almost certainly passing away without hearing the strains his poem inspired. The review on March 4 in the Evening Transcript, unsigned but probably written by W. F. Apthorp, is still illuminating.

Liszt's "Bells of Strasburg" . . . is decidedly the most enjoyable work of the composer's later period that has yet been given here. Liszt is especially notable for a certain brilliant quasi-poetic cleverness, and where he contents himself with brevity, as in the present instance, the result is often exceedingly thrilling. "The Bells of Strasburg" is so simple in its general plan, the contrasts in it are so striking and natural, it is so glowing in color, and, above all, so concise in treatment, that the want of real depth and *Gemüth* in Liszt's nature is not painfully felt. Liszt's music in general bears about the same relation to that of Berlioz or Wagner—the men with whom he is most commonly compared—that rhetoric does to poetry. Still, the man has undeniably a certain gigantic imaginativeness, and he is so genuinely brilliant that he can easily carry you away, for a time. Anything more picturesque, perhaps it were better to say more *scenic* in its gorgeousness than the "Excelsior" introduction to the "Bells of Strasburg" were hard to find. There is a striking quality in all that splendor of orchestral color, in those daring enharmonic modulations, which, for the moment, makes them seem almost poetic. Throughout the work,

<sup>49</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1896, p. 276.

too, the contrast between Lucifer's exhortations, the despairing replies of the demons, and the Gregorian plain chant of the bells is admirably kept up. When Liszt falls foul of a Gregorian Tone, one is pretty sure beforehand what the upshot will be. The imitative suggestion of the old sixteenth-century Catholic Church music in the final song of triumph of the Bells—"Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes"—was virtually unavoidable. The passage is also largely effective; only one sees here with special distinctness how Liszt is fully content with the more external aspect of things. About all he has ever done in the Gregorian way is to reproduce the often crude chord-progressions of the old contrapuntal writers, and to give special prominence to that old device technically known as the *Fa fictum* (the alternation of the plain C major chord with that of B-flat major is an example), an harmonic effect which is often extremely powerful, but of which a little goes a longish way. Now these things are unquestionably characteristic of the old *a cappella* music; but they are only superficial, even merely accidental characteristics. To attempt to reproduce the essential soul and spirit of that old music, its contrapuntal perfection, the finished beauty of the voice writing, seems not to have occurred to Liszt. He takes only what lies on the surface. Very likely the first thing one would notice in looking over a harpsichord piece by Bach would be the vast number of mordents and other embellishments. Well, Liszt's imitations of Palestrina and the old *a cappella* writers are very like an imitation any one might try to make of Bach, simply by writing a great many mordents, skin-deep, from beginning to end! The performance by the chorus was admirably strong, sure and brilliant; the orchestra did less well, and made little or no attempt at effects of shading. It seems to us that Mr. [George L.] Osgood conducted the work a thought too rigidly, without that elasticity in matters of *tempo* which Liszt's music demands.

The reviewer, capable of analytical reflection, might write differently of Liszt today, when his personality and music are somewhat better understood, but the writer's reaction to *Die Glocken* seems (for 1886) by no means unreasonable. The forced comparison with Palestrina, of course, was unfortunate and unjustified, there being little in the music on which to base such a thesis.

But what has happened to Liszt's curious composition in the intervening years? It has been neglected, passed by, and is as little known as the meeting between Liszt and Longfellow from which it originally sprang. The happy accident of a short letter from Liszt to the poet arriving at the national library focuses attention anew upon the two men and their joint product. Perhaps a hearing of the composition, not necessarily his greatest and certainly not his worst, will not lag far behind.

## A RECENTLY DISCOVERED ENGLISH SOURCE OF THE 14TH CENTURY

By DENIS STEVENS

THE preservation of musical sources can be attributed either to man's design or to the will of fate; and sometimes to a combination of the two. Yet even the strongest and most humane desire to keep for posterity some unique or otherwise remarkable manuscript source may quickly be set at nought by the ravages of fire,<sup>1</sup> damp,<sup>2</sup> or the chemical action of ink on paper.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, an apparently complete lack of interest in the ultimate fate of a carefully written document has often resulted in its well-nigh perfect preservation and late discovery.<sup>4</sup> In Eng-

<sup>1</sup> To name only three important sources: Strasbourg M 222 C 22 (burnt during the war of 1870, and reconstructed by Van den Borren after a partial copy made by Coussemaker); Milan, Archivio della Cappella del Duomo, cod. 2266 (burnt in 1906, during the International Exhibition, but rescued. A thematic index is printed by Sartori in *Collectanea Historiae Musicae I*, Florence, 1953); London, British Museum, Cott. Tib. B. ix (burnt in 1731, but previously transcribed by Pepusch, and now known as Anonymous IV).

<sup>2</sup> Certain manuscripts belonging to the Cappella Giulia in Rome were so long neglected that in the end their damp surroundings forced them into the class of the untouchables. Wolf in 1909, Smijers in 1929, and Feininger in 1946 all complained about the condition of this valuable source-material, but little was done until recently to improve matters.

<sup>3</sup> One of the worst examples we have seen is a manuscript of 17th-century English keyboard music in the Paris Conservatoire (Rés. 1185). The heads of half and whole notes drop out like the residue of a paper-punching machine at almost every turn of the page.

<sup>4</sup> See Bukofzer, *Caput Redivivum*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV [1951], 97; Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1953, p. xiii; Lowinsky, *A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome*, in *Journal of the A. M. S.*, III [1950], 173; Stevens, *A Part-Book in the Public Record Office*, in *Music Survey*, II [1950], 161; Schofield and Dart, *Tregian's Anthology*, in *Music and Letters*, XXXII [1951], 205; Plamenac, *Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117*, in *Journal of the A. M. S.*, IV [1951], 179.



land, although much evidence has been lost of what was undoubtedly a flourishing medieval school of musical composition, recent years have seen the rediscovery of extensive and well-nigh complete manuscripts which have thrown much light on musical activities in the 15th and 16th centuries. Students of 14th-century English music, however, have still had to rely on fragmentary or incomplete documents, though some have succeeded in tracing a number of these elusive particles in their relation to one another, so that it may soon be possible to reconstruct a convincing historical picture of the state of music in England before the time of the Old Hall manuscript.<sup>5</sup>

Leaves containing music have been carefully removed from medieval bindings in university, college, and chapter libraries,<sup>6</sup> and in nearly every case the results of this enlightened resuscitation of materials formerly beyond our reach has fully justified the efforts expended on it. Little did the bookbinders realize that they were accidentally preserving what they sought to obliterate; yet their motive was primarily an economic one, which preferred the relatively inexpensive parchment already written on to the clean but costly sheets allotted to the scribes. Musical fashions, in the 14th as in any other century, were quick to come and go. We know from the leaves constituting the Fountains fragment<sup>7</sup> that current musical repertory of about 1425 was cut up and used for binding a memorandum book only twenty years later. But very rarely does the opposite happen—when, for example, a blank page in a book or the dorse of a legal document tempts its owner or guardian to draw staves and write music.

One of the many documents delivered into the Exchequer during the year 1315 was a long Inquisition Post Mortem, from Tamworth in the county of Warwickshire. As usual with this type of document, one side was indented, since part of the sheet of parchment had to be cut away in order to provide a kind of receipt. The result is that a long wavy line can still be seen along the 33-inch edge of the Inquisition. Its width was originally 10 inches, but the opposite edge has suffered badly from another kind of indenture, caused by the gnawing of rodents or by con-

<sup>5</sup> Many of these fragments are described in Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1951. The list of additions and corrections by Bukofzer (*Journal of the A. M. S.*, V [1952], 53) should also be consulted.

<sup>6</sup> For a recent example see Levy, *New Material on the Early Motet in England*, in *Journal of the A. M. S.*, IV [1951], 220.

<sup>7</sup> British Museum Add. Ms. 40011 B. There is a full-length account of this important source in Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York, 1950, p. 86.

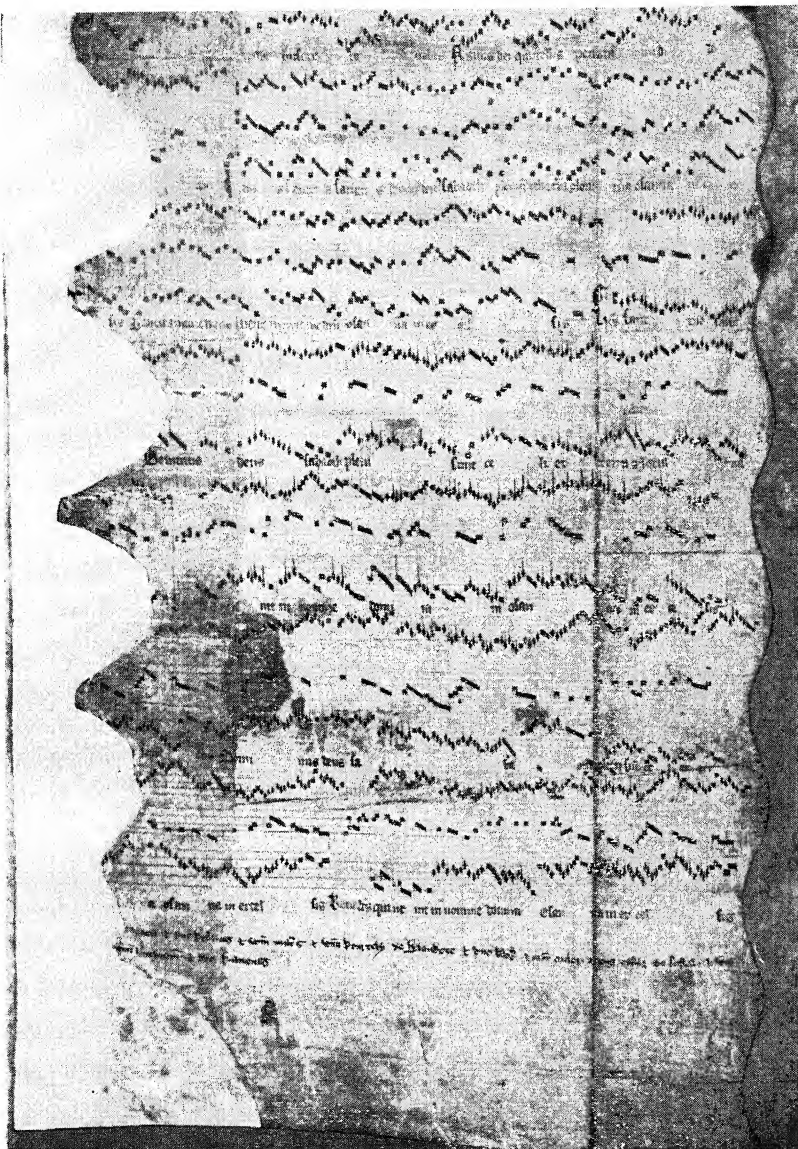
tinuously dripping water on the rolled-up parchment. The presence of a considerable amount of polyphonic music on the dorse of this document<sup>8</sup> was first noticed by Mr. Neville Williams, a member of the Public Record Office staff. His preliminary investigations showed that the music was either written on the parchment before it arrived in the Exchequer offices, or was written at a later date by an Exchequer clerk—the only kind of person who could then have had access to it.

If the first of these suppositions were to be true, the notation would be either English mensural or Petronian, a type that was well known in England during the first quarter of the 14th century. In point of fact the notation has all the characteristics of the fully developed *Ars nova* style, with clearly marked points of division, frequent minims, and a strong preference for major prolation. The music may thus be transcribed conveniently in 6/8 or 9/8 meter, although time-signatures as such do not appear. The damaged side of the document has removed beyond recall much precious evidence of clefs, but it is doubtful whether time-signatures were lost also, since it was customary for the mensuration to be deduced from the context. Nothing has been lost from the other indented side, and this fact helps to prove that the music was written after the document had entered the Exchequer offices. Further, of the eight sections<sup>9</sup> whose beginnings have escaped damage (through being in the middle of the document or just sufficiently to the right of the lacunae) none has a time-signature, and only five have indications of clef. If we use the notation as a guide, the earliest possible date for the music, assuming an English origin, would be 1360. It may actually belong to a slightly later period, though not later than 1390, since the musical style and content closely resemble that of the earliest part of the Old Hall manuscript.

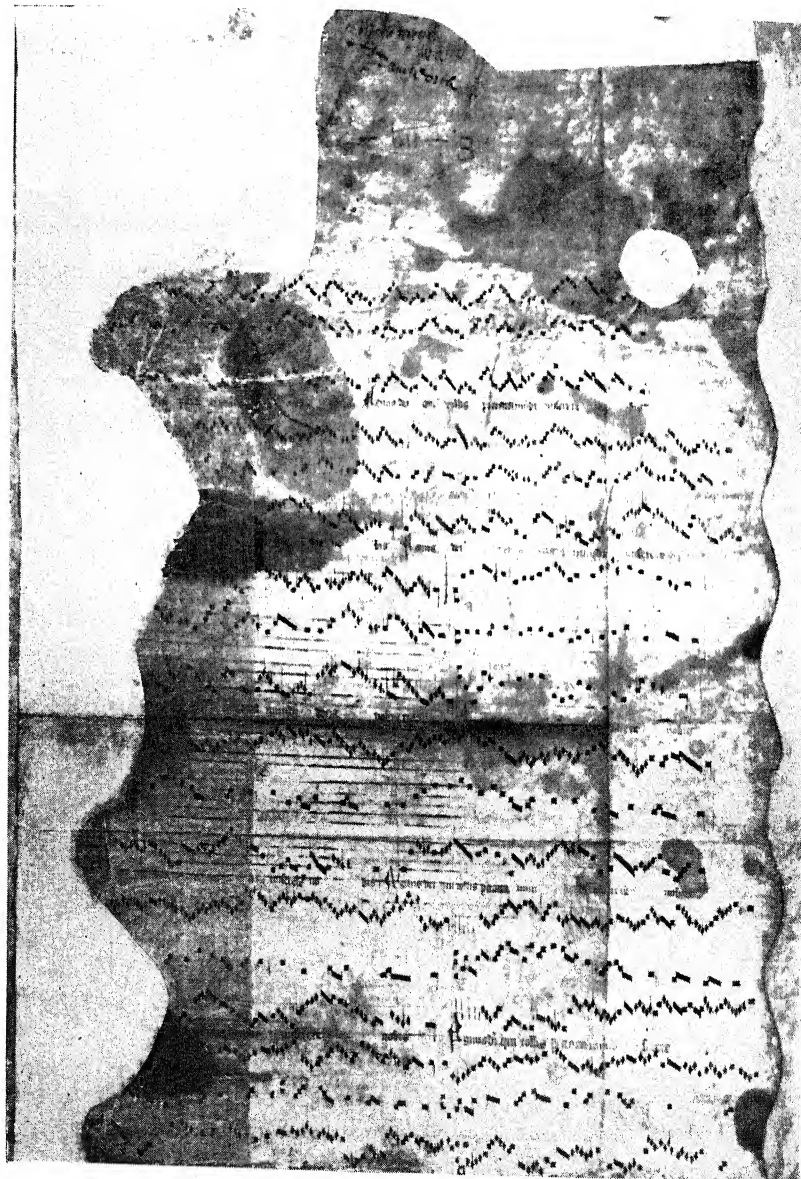
Well over half, though possibly not more than three-quarters, of a century must have elapsed between the date of the document's entry and the date of the music; and if the document did not leave the Exchequer, then the alternative theory—that the music was written by a clerk after or during his hours of duty—must be accepted. Documents once in the Exchequer repositories rarely, if ever, were allowed to leave them. Even if this particular Inquisition did find its way into the outside world, there would appear to be little reason for writing music on it and then hiding

<sup>8</sup> London, Public Record Office, E. 149/7/23 (dorse).

<sup>9</sup> See plates 1 and 2; *Agnus Dei*—1 (ii); 2 (ii); 3; 4 (ii); 5 (i, iii); *Sanctus*—6; 7. The arabic numerals refer to the table on page 30.



London, Public Record Office E. 149/7/23 *verso*



London, Public Record Office E. 149/7/23 *dorse*

it away for another five and a half centuries. It seems natural to assume that a small number of clerks employed in the Exchequer towards the close of the 14th century may have been sufficiently interested in music to want to sing something together. Certainly the music written down on the document is eminently singable: it is notated in score (conductus style) and was at the time of writing quite legible. The texts (Agnus Dei and Sanctus) are clearly written under the lowest of each group of three staves; the plainsongs—always in the middle voice—are among the best-known ones in the Sarum Kyriale and would certainly be familiar to educated scribes who gained their knowledge of writing from the church. Furthermore, the fact that no concordances with other manuscripts of the same period have so far been discovered makes it all the more probable that the music was written in office hours and far away from other musical sources.

The handwriting is clear where unspoilt by damp and wear, but the staves have been clumsily drawn, and the distances between the lines—and between the staves themselves—vary considerably. Slight faults in writing text (*miserere nobis* for *dona nobis pacem*), music (a breve or its equivalent is missing from the contratenor of the last Benedictus), or intonation (again in the last Benedictus) show that the scribe was not quite a first-rate man, although his standard of accuracy is not far below that of the scribes responsible for the Old Hall manuscript. In this respect, it is worth comparing certain of the Sanctus settings on this Inquisition with a Sanctus by Chirbury, available in facsimile in the modern edition of the Old Hall manuscript, Vol. III. All the primary physical characteristics are identical: black notation, score layout, ligatures in the tenor part corresponding in many cases to those of the original plainsong. But the handwriting of the Old Hall scribe is undoubtedly the more elegant and professional of the two.

The available space has been almost equally divided between settings of Agnus Dei and Sanctus. There are 36 staves in all, divided into twelve systems of three, and of these twelve just over six are given up to Agnus Dei settings. The first Sanctus begins about two inches from the left-hand side of the seventh system. In the following inventory, the position of each section is shown diagrammatically. The Sarum numbers refer to the order of the plainsongs in the facsimile edition of *Graduale Saris-buriense* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London, 1894), and the Roman numbers are those of the Vatican Gradual.

System	Designation and Position		No.	Plainsong		Meter	
				Sarum	Roman		
1	1	Agnus i, iii	Agnus ii	1	6	II	6 8
2	2	Agnus i	Agnus ii	2	6	II	6 8
3		Agnus iii	3 Agnus i, ii, iii	3	10	XVIII	6 8
4	4	Agnus i	Agnus ii	4	2	IV	9 8
5		Agnus iii	5 Agnus i	5	11 <sup>10</sup>	IX	9 8
6		Agnus ii	Agnus iii				
7	6	Sanctus		6	3	IV	6 8
8		Benedictus	7 Sanctus	7	4	XI	6 8
9							
10		Benedictus					
11	8	Sanctus		8	2	VIII	6 8
12			Benedictus				

Certain liturgical questions arise from a preliminary study of the above list, which shows three clearly differentiated ways of composing music for the tripartite text of *Agnus Dei*. In 1 there are two separate pieces of music, the first having a superscript *miserere nobis* to the words *dona nobis pacem*, showing that the same music was used for the first and third invocations. Although 2 is based on the same plainsong as 1, the three invocations are separate and distinct. Moreover the plainsong itself has been transformed into *cantus fractus* by occasional semibreve-semibreve or semibreve-minim groups, a procedure that is not found elsewhere in this document, and is of great rarity even in the later conductus settings of *Agnus Dei* in the Old Hall manuscript. The three invocations of 4 and 5 are, like 2, separately composed. One other type remains to be considered: the thrice repeated single section as seen in 3. Harmonically by far the most simple item in the manuscript, 3 has no direct indication that the music is to serve a threefold purpose. Even the words *dona nobis pacem* are left out, but this may be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe, for the same words are wrongly replaced by *miserere nobis* in the third invocation of 4.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum Add. Ms. 17001, a Sarum Gradual of the late 14th century, has two extra chants for *Agnus Dei*, over and above those contained in Lansdowne Ms. 462, whose Kyriale is reproduced in *Graduale Sarisburiense*. We propose to designate these chants Sarum 11 (= Vat. IX) and 12 (= Vat. XVII).

The liturgical form of the three types may be conveniently shown schematically in relation to the form of the original plainsongs.<sup>11</sup>

No.	AGNUS DEI		
	<i>Sarum chant</i>	<i>Plainsong form</i>	<i>Form of conductus setting</i>
1	6	<i>a a a</i>	<i>A B A</i>
2	6	<i>a a a</i>	<i>A B C</i>
3	10	<i>a a a</i>	<i>A A A</i>
4	2	<i>a b a</i>	<i>A B C</i>
5	11	<i>a b a</i>	<i>A B C</i>

Although the three Sanctus settings have all suffered slight damage, the Benedictus is in each case complete, and legible enough to be transcribed. The first Sanctus (item 6 in our inventory) is remarkable for its use of the *Marie filius* trope to the Benedictus. Although this trope was in use right up to the time of the printed Sarum missals, and may even be found in an insular polyphonic Mass<sup>12</sup> of the mid-16th century, it was apparently not often used in the conductus type of Sanctus settings: out of twenty-seven such settings in the Old Hall manuscript, only one has this trope.<sup>13</sup>

There are no intonations in 6; every note of the chant is harmonized, with the obvious intention of providing a smooth three-part texture. In 7 the first Sanctus and the word Benedictus both have plainsong cues, the treble and contratenor being given the equivalent number of rests. The last setting, No. 8, is slightly damaged at the beginning, but a plainsong intonation for the first Sanctus may not be an unreasonable conjecture in view of the shortage of space between the edge of the document and the fragmentary beginning of the second invocation, which is composed polyphonically. Additional evidence may be found in the Benedictus, the first word of which is used as an intonation (as in 7) though the plainsong actually given is wrong. The scribe has copied out the melody for the Agnus Dei intonation (5), the general contour of which is very similar to the plainsong cue he intended to write down.

It has already been pointed out that there are so far no concordances with other English manuscripts containing single settings of Agnus Dei and Sanctus<sup>14</sup> or groups of settings, such as those in the Fountains and

<sup>11</sup> The Sarum versions are followed here, since the present form of Vatican II is *aba*, while the Sarum form (*aaa*) has the same plainsong for all three invocations.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Carver's *Mass Pater Creator Omnium* in the Scone Choirbook (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 5/1/15).

<sup>13</sup> Anon. (f. 84); printed in the *Old Hall Manuscript*, III, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Worcester Cathedral Library, Add.Ms.68, f.xix v — facsimile and transcriptions in Hughes, *Worcester Medieval Harmony*, London, 1928, pp.58-61; Cambridge University Library, Add.Ms. 2713; Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms.Mus.d.143, f.1.

Old Hall manuscripts. There are however strong stylistic affinities between many of these sources,<sup>15</sup> showing that the conductus type was well established in England during the 14th century, and was much in favor as a simple and effective kind of composition whose liturgical aptness (as characterized by exceptionally well-behaved plainsong tenors) could never be questioned.

Before we discuss general questions of style it is necessary to consider briefly the role of the plainsong in those sections of the document that allow of transcription.<sup>16</sup> Normally the differences between the plainsong tenors and the Sarum versions are very slight indeed. Only in Agnus 1 and 2 is there any marked tendency to fill in skips of a third, and this may be attributed rather to the scribe's wish to ensure a smoothly flowing tenor than to any local variant of the melody. A comparison between the tenors of 1 and 2, and their relationship to the Sarum chant, is shown below:

Ex. 1

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of three staves. The first system is labeled 'PRO 1', 'Sarum 6', and 'PRO 2' from top to bottom. The second system is also labeled 'PRO 1', 'Sarum 6', and 'PRO 2' from top to bottom. The notation is in mensural style, using square neumes on a four-line staff. The 'PRO' staves show a more complex, flowing melody with many eighth and sixteenth notes, while the 'Sarum' staff shows a simpler, more direct version of the same melody, often using longer note values to represent the same pitch sequence.

The plainsongs are always in the middle voice, although this voice may not necessarily be the middle note of the resulting triad: the two lower parts frequently cross, especially in Agnus 5. There is no trace of a migrant *cantus firmus*, a fact that may point to a school less subtle

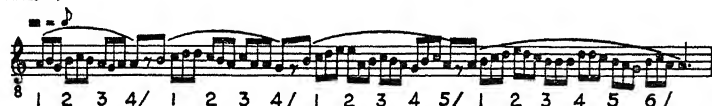
<sup>15</sup> And, of course, between other manuscripts not necessarily containing Mass sections: Oxford, Bodleian Library — Barlow 22; E. Mus. 7; Hatton 81; Lat.th.e.30; British Museum — Arundel 14; Sloane 1210.

<sup>16</sup> In the transcriptions that follow (Exx. 12-15), three Agnus Dei sections are represented (1, 2, and 4) and an entire Sanctus and Benedictus (7).



and cultivated than that which produced the Fountains and Old Hall repertory. There is, however, a significant use of *modus perfectus* in Agnus 1, which gives evidence of a definite scheme of expansion when subjected to the now fashionable macrorhythmic treatment:

Ex. 2



In 1, 2, 3, and 7 the pitch of the tenor is a fifth higher, and in 4 a fourth higher than the original chant, the transposition being as necessary here as it is in the construction of a faburden for organ,<sup>17</sup> in order to bring the chant into the correct range.

The range of the tenor, when compared with that of the adjacent voices, is not without interest, for it shows an expected normal working range of a twelfth in all three voices. A downward transposition of a whole tone by way of compensation for an assumed rise in absolute pitch since the 14th century indicates the suitability of the three parts for counter-tenor (Triplex), baritone (Contratenor), and tenor (Tenor):

Ex. 3



It goes without saying that the extremes of tessituras as shown above are not encountered in any one composition, although for normal purposes in modern performance a group such as counter-tenor, tenor, and baritone would be ideal.<sup>18</sup>

One other point in connection with the plainsongs remains to be mentioned, and that is the use of a plica brevis sign in 3 and 4. In 3 this obviously calls for a transcription in even notes (measures 13 and 18):

Ex. 4



<sup>17</sup> See Bukofzer, *Fauxbourdon Revisited* in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1952), 30.

<sup>18</sup> In fact, Agnus 2 has been recorded with just such a combination in the present writer's "History of British Music," a series of thirteen 30-minute programs issued by the BBC Transcription Service.

although in 4 the situation is slightly more complicated. Here the *plica brevis* coincides both times with a *ficta* sharp, and it may be that certain scribes used the short *plica* stem as an indication of raised pitch, rather like their successors the writers of organ music.<sup>19</sup> Both interpretations are shown in the transcript (Ex. 14).

Of the main stylistic features in this group of compositions, perhaps the most obvious (both to ear and eye) is the frequent occurrence of rests. These normally occupy one breve or measure, and occur simultaneously in all parts. This procedure, well known to be a specifically English trait,<sup>20</sup> may be seen in all of the Mass sections on the document. While it is true that they do not appear in 4, *Agnus ii* (see Ex. 14), they may be seen in the first and third invocations—untranscribed by reason of their partial illegibility—of this same composition (facsimile 1). Their function was clearly a practical one.

Questions of musical style almost persuade us to envisage three singers, each of whom was capable of composing on a given plainsong, since there are certainly two, and possibly three distinct manners or styles. The first, evident in 1, 3, and 6, is predominantly simple, with straightforward chordal progressions involving little, if any, decoration of the individual voice-parts. The second, apparent in 2 and 7, favors a high degree of ornamentation combined with parallel and conjunct movement in sixths, which often takes on the character of fauxbourdon style proper.<sup>21</sup> The third, which seems to be quite distinct from the first two, comprises 4,

<sup>19</sup> Paumann, *Fundamentum organisandi* (*passim*). Cf. also Bodley 384, for instance a Gloria with trope *Spiritus et alme*. See especially cadences at *miserere nobis*, *Jesu Christe*, *Patris*.

<sup>20</sup> It appears in Masses by Leonel and Benet in the choirbooks at Trent, in Marian motets by Dunstable (see 37, 40, and 46 in the edition by Bukofzer, *Musica Britannica*, VIII), and in five of the Masses in Brussels, Bibl. Royale Ms. 5557. This source has been studied in considerable detail by Sylvia Kenney (*Revue Belge de Musicologie*, VI [1953], 92), who says in connection with the simultaneous rests: "While this sort of pause seems somewhat logical from a textual point of view in the *Agnus Dei*, the interruption of the phrases 'pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua' and 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine tua' [*recte* 'Domini'] is curious to say the least, and certainly seems to imply an explanation outside the realm of esthetic considerations." But surely Miss Kenney would grant the medieval singing man, however esthetically inclined, the right to take an occasional breath. A rest of one measure is just sufficient to allow the lungs to be refilled with God's good air, as our Exchequer clerks realized only too well. They break up the phrases in exactly the same way as the composers of the Brussels manuscript: e.g. the anonymous Mass beginning on f.90 has a Sanctus corresponding in text-division to PRO 6, a Benedictus to PRO 8, and Agnus to PRO 3.

<sup>21</sup> See transcriptions: 2 (mm. 13, 35); 7 (mm. 32, 67).

5, and 8. Both 4 and 5 are in perfect time, and they also manifest the same kind of triadic progression found frequently in 8:<sup>22</sup>

Ex. 5

PRO 5

Pro 8

[Agnus Dei] qui Do - - - mi - - [nus]

Further examples of fauxbourdon style may be found in 1 (mm.1/2, 5-9, 24-26, 55-60), transcribed as Ex. 12, and in 6:

Ex. 6

99

qui ve - - - nit

There is also evidence of a remotely related style consisting of melodic figuration in parallel and conjunct fourths, recalling the intabulations of *Fauvel* motets in the Robertsbridge manuscript:<sup>23</sup>

Ex. 7

PRO 8

[Adesto firmissime]

Roberts-bridge MS

De - us Sa - - (booth)

The mention of parallel movement does not imply the absence of contrary motion between outer parts, which is frequently to be found, as indeed is disjunct movement of various kinds and intervals. The opening of the Benedictus (transcribed in Ex. 15) is a typical example of 14th-century technique: an almost exact copy may be seen in the beginning of a three-part wordless motet<sup>24</sup> (*Exultet celum laudibus* ?) in Bodleian Library, E. Mus. 7 (p. 531):

<sup>22</sup> Cf. transcription of 4 (mm. 12/13).

<sup>23</sup> British Museum Add.Ms. 28550.

<sup>24</sup> Not "two instrumental parts" as stated in *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library*, p. 29.

Ex. 8



Disjunct melodic movement includes thirds in sequence,<sup>25</sup> fifths likewise, mostly perfect but occasionally diminished,<sup>26</sup> and even sevenths:<sup>27</sup>

Ex. 9



Harmonic sevenths are usually prepared with care and resolved with dispatch, although certain examples show a bolder approach which may well have some affinity with the English, and not necessarily Tudor, liking for spicy dissonance.<sup>28</sup> A milder form of dissonance altogether may be found in the cadential  $\frac{6}{5}$ , which occurs frequently not only in the present document but also in many of the conductus settings of Sanctus and Agnus in the Old Hall manuscript:

Ex. 10



This small stylistic link is however offset by an almost complete lack of contrapuntal sequences in Old Hall settings of Sanctus and Agnus, although sequential passages are numerous in the compositions now under review. Sanctus 8 contains several vigorous examples:

<sup>25</sup> Sanctus 7 (Ex. 15): mm. 41-43.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*: mm. 16/17; 101/102; 119 (diminished).

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*: mm. 126/127.

<sup>28</sup> See transcriptions of 2 (mm. 22/23) and 4 (mm. 6, 19).

Ex. 11

PROB

Sa - - - - - [boath] in no - - - mi - [ne]

Anonymous as these pieces are, they nevertheless betray a keen sense of liturgical style allied to a competence that must have been the exception rather than the rule, even among displaced monastic scribes. The existence of this new source may owe its origin to ecclesiastical retrenchments and the consequent posting of redundant personnel to the secular offices of the Exchequer. Perhaps the real explanation may never be known. There is no doubt, however, that this source sheds new light on the state of music in medieval England, and is one of the legacies of a rich tradition whose monuments were once the pride of all who beheld them.

Ex. 12  
1 (Agnus Dei ii)

A - - gnus De - - i qui tol - - lis pec - - ca - - ta mun - - di mi - se - - re - re no - - bis.

ne Do - mi - - - -

ni O - san - - -

na in ex - cel - - - sis.

100

110

120

130

The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system ends with a double bar line. The third system ends with a double bar line. The tempo markings 100, 110, 120, and 130 are placed above the vocal line at the beginning of each system.

## THE LATIN ORATORIOS OF MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER

By H. WILEY HITCHCOCK

ONE of the many reflections of the musico-dramatic orientation of the 17th century was the crystallization of the oratorio. By mid-century, Italy had developed two distinct types of oratorio composition. One, the Italian *oratorio volgare*, had emerged from the *laudi* sung at the devotional meetings of the counter-reformational Congregazione dell'Oratorio of St. Philip Neri. The other, the Latin oratorio, was an offspring of the 16th-century Latin motet. The composer acknowledged even in his own time as the master of the early Latin oratorio was Giacomo Carissimi, *maestro* of the chapel of Sant'Apollinare at the German College of the Jesuits in Rome from 1630 until his death in 1674. Carissimi received frequent commissions for music to Latin texts from the important Philippine oratory, the Archiconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso in San Marcello. The Lenten music at San Marcello was said to be superb; the Parisian violist André Maugars claimed that the best music in the (to him) novel *stile récitatif* to be heard in Rome was that of the meetings of the Brothers of the Holy Cross.<sup>1</sup> Quite possibly some of the *comédies spirituelles* or *histoires du Viel Testament* that he describes in his famous letter of 1639 were works by Carissimi.

Another Parisian, in Rome some years after Maugars, seems to have been captivated by the music of Carissimi. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, born about 1634, apparently went to Rome in the 1650's to study painting.<sup>2</sup> But he decided on a career in music and studied with

<sup>1</sup>André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie, écrite à Rome le 1er octobre 1639*, ed. Ernest Thoinan, Paris, 1865, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup>The poet-musician Dassoucy knew him in Rome; Dassoucy was there, at the earliest, in 1654. There is an amusing letter from Dassoucy to Molière in which Dassoucy complains of the lack of gratitude shown by Charpentier for certain favors accorded him in Rome by the writer. See Henri Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, Paris, 1913, p. 315.

Carissimi, who must then have been at the height of his powers. According to the *Mercure Galant*, he "remained for a long time in Italy, where he often saw Carissimi."<sup>3</sup> This contact with the greatest master of the early oratorio had important reverberations in Charpentier's later life as a composer in the Paris of Louis XIV. It undoubtedly accounts in part for the respect accorded him as a church composer by a musical world otherwise largely hostile to him—a respect that culminated with an appointment near the end of his life as *maître de musique* at the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais (1698-1704). It also accounts largely for the fact that Charpentier is one of the few French composers worthy of mention in the history of the oratorio. For, undoubtedly inspired by the examples of his Roman master, Charpentier introduced the Latin oratorio to the congregation of the most important Jesuit church in Paris, to the guests of the wealthy and pious Marie de Lorraine, Duchesse de Guise, and to the assembled nobility of the French Parliament. With the possible exception of Henri Dumont, whose works include a *Dialogus de Anima* described by Brossard as being "a very excellent sort of oratorio or dialogue between God, a sinner, and an angel . . . at the end of which there is a very lovely chorus for five voices *cum 2 violinis et organo necessariis*,"<sup>4</sup> Charpentier was the first French composer to write oratorios. He certainly was the first to write any appreciable number of them—and, it might be added, the only one for many years.

Like Carissimi, Charpentier created works that reflect the several stages in the development of the Latin oratorio from the motet. Indeed, the composer seems to have regarded as motets many of the compositions that are viewed by us as "oratorios."<sup>5</sup> It is convenient, however, to classify these works in three groups corresponding roughly to the types of sacred dramatic music written by Carissimi. Availing ourselves of terms used by Charpentier himself, we may distinguish among *historiae*, *cantica*, and *dialogi*. Their total number is thirty-four. The "Mélanges autographes"<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Mercure Galant*, January, 1678, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Henri Quittard, *Un Musicien en France au dix-septième siècle, Henry Du Mont*, Paris, 1906, p. 166. Brossard's comments appear at the head of his copy of the Dumont *Dialogus* (Bibl. Nat., Rés. Vm<sup>1</sup> 1303, No. 17).

<sup>5</sup> *Judicium Salomonis* is subtitled "Motet pour la messe rouge du Palais en 1702"; a note at the end of the score of the same work commences, "Le motet précédant . . ."; a prelude for *Pestis Mediolanensis* has alternative endings, one "pour lier le motet avec le prelude," etc.

<sup>6</sup> Bibl. Nat., Rés. Vm<sup>1</sup> 259. This collection of twenty-eight folio volumes is the principal source for Charpentier's music, almost none of which was published in his lifetime.



include twenty-six. A second copy of one of these, *Filius Prodigus*, is found alongside two Carissimi oratorios in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque de Versailles (MS 58, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>). In addition, manuscript copies made by Brossard of works by Charpentier include eight other oratorios. The oratorios of Charpentier are listed in the table at the end of this article.

The fourteen *historiae* are the most elaborate of Charpentier's oratorios. They are clearly influenced by the style and structure of Carissimi's largest *historiae*; indeed, three of them deal with subjects that Carissimi himself treated: *Extremum Dei Judicium*, *Sacrificium Abrahæ*, and *Judicium Salomonis*. The *historiae* are lengthy works; *Judith*, for example, is upwards of a thousand measures and takes more than a half-hour to perform. The musical demands of the *historiae* are in proportion to their length. In addition to soloists and *basso continuo*, a chorus is always required; it is frequently split into two equal half-choruses. Concertante instruments—as few as two violins, as many as two four-part string orchestras—are added to the *continuo*.

Charpentier uses the term *canticum* in some oratorio titles. Besides the strict liturgical meaning of this term ("canticle," e.g. of the Blessed Virgin, of Zacharias), *canticum* seems to have been almost synonymous with "motet" in 17th-century France.<sup>7</sup> The semi-dramatic *cantica* of Charpentier are of two types: (1) works on subjects similar to those of the *historiae* but lacking the expansiveness either of text or of musical treatment—in short, miniature *historiae*; (2) works of more reflective, lyrical, and less dramatic character, resembling in text and musical treatment the dramatic-narrative *mottetto concertato* of Carissimi and earlier Italians. Related to the *cantica* are five compositions by Charpentier called "meditations." The ten *Méditations pour le Caresme* are extremely brief (41-82 mm.), motet-like works for three male voices and *continuo*. Some are completely reflective and dramatically static in textual character. Others, however, are more dramatic and partake of the nature of tiny oratorios, the singers dividing among them the parts of the New Testament characters in the Passion story, of the Evangelist, and of the protagonists in the tale of Abraham and Isaac. Their extreme brevity and their slender musical resources, however, set these five *méditations* apart from the other Charpentier oratorios.

The last type of oratorio composition written by Charpentier is the *dialogus*. The *dialogi* are characterized by dramatic situations that in-

<sup>7</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, "Canticum," *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, 1703.

volve two persons or two groups of persons. They lack objectively descriptive texts or narrative elements, hence a *historicus* is unnecessary and does not typically appear. They are characteristically brief works, on the same scale as the *cantica*, and like the *cantica* they demand a minimum of performers. As in the Italian biblical dialogues that undoubtedly served Charpentier as models, the two dialoguing elements join in simultaneous expression at the end of a work.

For the most part, Charpentier's oratorio texts are biblical, and generally faithful to the prose of the Vulgate. In some of the oratorios—notably *Filius Prodigus*, *Extremum Dei Judicium*, and *Caedes Sanctorum Innocentium*—the biblical subject serves only as a skeleton for the musical drama; the scriptural account is liberally embellished with invented dialogue, and the work becomes an imaginative re-creation of a story only outlined in the original. Occasionally, different and widely scattered biblical sources are combined to add to the richness of dramatic incident. For example, Charpentier's oratorio on the Last Judgment has as a core a few words of Jesus describing the separation of "the sheep from the goats" on the Day of Judgment (Matthew 25:35-36, 41-43). The central figure of the oratorio, however, is God himself (whose splendid isolation is to be emphasized, according to a note of the composer: "The [person who sings the] part of God never sings in the choruses."). Most of his speeches are invented, but passages from the angry opening lines of the canticle of Moses (Deuteronomy 32) are appropriately put into the mouth of God at the beginning of the oratorio: "Audite coeli, quae loquor, audiat terra verbis oris mei . . . Generatio prava atque perversa, haecine reddis Domino tuo?" Charpentier's most famous oratorio, *Le Reniement de St. Pierre*, is taken largely from St. Matthew. In order, however, to relate all the details of Peter's betrayal of Christ, material is borrowed from other Gospels: the episode of Malchus, whose ear Peter cut off, is drawn from St. John; and the detail of Jesus's gazing at Peter after the crowing of the cock is taken from St. Luke.

The textual style of interpolated or altered passages is generally modeled on that of the surrounding biblical lines. Poetic additions are rare; they seem designed for the most part to highlight a particularly important dramatic situation or to reflect by their very regularity of structure a crystallized emotion on the part of one of the characters. In the latter usage may be seen the seeds of the prose-poetry division (designed for settings in recitative and aria styles respectively) of later oratorio and opera texts.





The non-biblical oratorios are based either on texts relating episodes from Church history or on allegorical dialogues. Four oratorios begin with the text of a vespers antiphon traditionally sung on the Feast of St. Cecilia; they proceed with the tale of Cecilia's conversions, first of Valerian, then of Tiburtius, and—in two of the oratorios—of the consequent martyrdom of Cecilia at the hands of the tyrant Almachius. *Pestis Mediolanensis* is a colorful and realistic reconstruction of the scene of the plague in Milan during 1576-77, at the time of St. Charles Borromeo. *Canticum in Honorem Beatae Virginis Mariae* ecstatically sings praises of the Virgin in a dialogue between angels and men. An oratorio *In Circumcisione Domini*, one titled simply *Elevation*, and *Dialogus inter Christum et Peccatores* are similarly based on dialogue-texts, in each case between a representative of the Divinity and mortals.

Unfortunately, almost none of the Charpentier oratorios may be dated precisely. *Judicium Salomonis* was composed in 1702 for the *messe rouge* celebrated annually on the convening of the Parliament; the score in the "Mélanges autographes" carries the names of singers employed at the Sainte-Chapelle, one of them having entered service there no earlier than June of 1702. The subject of the oratorio is singularly—almost mischievously—appropriate for a work to be presented on the assembling of a political group whose sphere of authority had been limited to purely judicial affairs. Without doubt, some of the oratorios were composed for the church of Saint Louis des Jésuites, where Charpentier was employed from about 1684 for an uncertain number of years (but possibly until his appointment to the Sainte-Chapelle in 1698); the music of the Jesuits, in Paris as in Rome earlier in the century, was characterized by an emphasis on dramatic elements. It is possible that *Pestis Mediolanensis* was composed in honor of the centennial celebration of the death of St. Charles Borromeo (d. 1584), and most probably for the church of the Jesuits; that order would have had good reason to remember the saint, in view of his close association with St. Francis Borgia, sometime General of the Jesuits. Jesuit influence might also account for the unique title *méditation*. The keystone of the Jesuits' devotional practice, *The Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola, presents a program for personal prayer, a program based on meditation. Two of the four "weeks" into which the *Exercises* are divided, moreover, are concerned with Lenten subjects, as are, of course, Charpentier's *Méditations pour le Carême*.

At least four of the oratorios were written specifically for the private music of the Duchesse de Guise. Charpentier was her *maître de musique*

perhaps from his return from Rome<sup>8</sup> until her death in 1688. For her musical retinue, "so good that one could claim that those of several great sovereigns did not rival it,"<sup>9</sup> Charpentier wrote many works, if we may judge by the number of times that names of her singers appear in the composer's holographs. Two versions of *Caecilia Virgo et Martyr* (Nos. 12 and 14), *In Nativitatem D[omini] N[ostri] J[esu] C[hristi] Canticum* (No. 13), and *Nuptiae Sacrae* include names of singers employed by the Duchesse de Guise. Presumably all were composed before the noblewoman's death in 1688. Although *Nuptiae Sacrae* may have been composed for performance at a convent, it may be assumed that the other three were presented in the music salon of the de Guise *hôtel* in the Marais.

The music of his oratorios is a good sample of Charpentier's general style. This style combines Italianate and French traits almost in equal measure, thus giving the lie to many of Charpentier's contemporaries—not to mention later writers—who found his music almost wholly Italianate. As might be expected, the oratorios reflect the influence of Carissimi, but it is not true, as one respected author has claimed, that "M. A. Charpentier only expands, without transforming them, the schemes furnished by Carissimi."<sup>10</sup> A more just estimate would be that Charpentier was deeply mindful of the traditions of oratorio and of the skill of Carissimi in handling the genre. And yet, although he was no musical revolutionary, Charpentier was extremely sensitive to features of the French style that could be incorporated in oratorio without completely disrupting its traditions. In particular, Charpentier enlarged oratorio's scope by incorporating instrumental music of a depth unimagined by Carissimi, and by diversifying the style and form of the vocal solos in response to dramatic and textual exigencies. He also brought a knowledge of the French *grand motet* style to the oratorio's traditionally emphasized choruses, thereby enriching them with rather elaborate *concertato* and contrapuntal textures. Charpentier's harmonic and melodic styles reflect an acquaintance with music of progressive composers, both Italian and French. Carissimi would never have written the "Prayer of Judith" or the final chorus of *Le Reniement de St. Pierre*.

<sup>8</sup> This is implied by both Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, Paris, 1732, p. 490, and the steward of Mademoiselle de Guise, in a letter, "Le Chevalier de Gagnières, Gouverneur de Joinville, écuyer de Mlle. de Guise, à Gabriel de Roquette, évêque d'Autun... de Paris, ce 25<sup>e</sup> de janvier, 1680," published in *Le Guide du Concert* (Paris), XVIII, No. 10 (Dec. 12, 1930), pp. 295-97.

<sup>9</sup> *Mercur Galant*, March, 1688, p. 306.

<sup>10</sup> Eugène Borrel, *Les Formes de l'oratorio*, in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, II<sup>e</sup> partie, Vol. 5, Paris, 1930, pp. 3385-89.

The former is too deeply imbued with the flavor of later Italian music like that of Stradella or Lorenzani; the latter is too clearly the product of a French composer, one who breathed the same air as Lalande and Couperin-le-grand. Similarly, Carissimi gave Charpentier no models for the shepherds' songs of the Nativity oratorios or the lament of *Pestis Mediolanensis*. The former are too frivolous, in the manner of Gallic *noëls*; the latter is too chromatically pungent, with a richness of harmony that the Roman composer never permitted himself in oratorio composition. One of the most characteristic features of Charpentier's style is his evident concern for autonomous musical structures, a concern manifest in every component of the oratorios, from recitatives—ostensibly the most "formless" kind of music—to an oratorio as a whole, which, as will be demonstrated presently, is sometimes organized according to a symmetrical plan.

It will be convenient here to take up one by one the various types of music encountered in Charpentier's oratorios: recitative, arioso, airs, vocal ensembles, choruses, and various kinds of instrumental music.

Charpentier's recitative tends to be wider in pitch-range and in note-values, exploits rests more frequently, and includes more large intervals than the contemporary Italian recitative. In these matters it approaches the mature recitative of Lully. Purely musical considerations as well as textual factors play an important part in the shaping of Charpentier's recitative. Procedures such as balanced antecedent and consequent phrases (Ex. 1a), melodic sequence and motivic recurrence (Ex. 1b), and thematic exchange between voice and accompaniment (Ex. 1c) not infrequently lend an unwonted musical expressiveness to passages whose rhythms betray a principally declamatory aim. In many instances such procedures require textual repetitions, not ordinarily tolerated in the narrative or conversational flow of recitative.

Ex. 1 Historicus Ius

Δ

Con-for-tatum est reg-num Is-ra-el in ma-nu Sa-lo -

mo-nis, et Do-mi-nus De-us pa-tris e-jus e - rat cum e - - o.



Valerianus (a)

b

A-pe-ri mi-hi men-tem tu-am, so-ror me-a, spon-sa me-a; dic mihi quid vis, so-ror me-a, spon-sa mea, a-pe-ri mi-hi men-tem tu-am, so-ror mea, spon-sa me-a; dic mi-hi quid vis.

David

c

Quis-nam es tu? Un-de ve-nis? Quo va-dis? Quid sic ac-ce-dis ad me?

Multiple recitative—syllabic recitative for ensemble or chorus—is frequently used by Charpentier to diversify the music of narrative passages and to lend verisimilitude to dialogue in which groups rather than individuals participate. Accompanied recitative seldom appears. When it does, dramatic emphasis is clearly intended by the composer, as in three speeches of the Divinity wherein Christ or God is wreathed in a musical halo of string parts reminiscent of Schütz's *Seven Last Words* and prophetic of J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*.

The distinction between recitative and arioso styles is a fine one in Charpentier's music, as it is in that of his French contemporaries. There are many instances, however, when (to use Marmontel's excellent description of one purpose of arioso style) Charpentier "seize[s] the moment to break the monotony of the solo or dialogue by a more distinct melodic style, which . . . stand[s] out from the continuous recitative and which, conspicuous and isolated, . . . catch[es] the attention of the ear by offering it a new pleasure."<sup>11</sup> One such instance is illustrated by Ex. 2. Cecilia is telling Valerian her secret: she has a guardian angel "who with great jealousy watches over my body." Emphasis of the quoted phrase is here achieved by arioso style, marked by a change from the C meter typical of recitative, by quasi-sequential treatment of the vocal line, and by imitation of that line in the *continuo*. Characteristically, the voice-part and the accompanying bass line are almost equivalent in musical importance.

<sup>11</sup> Jean François Marmontel, *Eléments de littérature*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1819, V, 97.



## Ex. 2

Caecilia

An-ge-lum De-i ha-be-o a-ma-to-rem qui ni-mi-o ze-lo cu-

[B.c.]

7 8 4 3

sto-dit cor-pus me-um. Hoc est se-cre-tum Va-le-ri-a-ne

Compared with passages set in recitative and arioso styles, veritable arias—or, perhaps better, *airs*—comprise a relatively insignificant portion of Charpentier's oratorio music. The principal reasons are perhaps to be found in his historical position and in the nature of his oratorio texts. Charpentier's training was received in mid-17th-century Italy; his maturity was spent in late-17th-century France. Thus neither during his impressionable formative years nor later in his life did he come under the direct influence of the late-*seicento* Italian devaluation of recitative as a basically expressive vocal style. Like his Italian teacher and like his French contemporaries, Charpentier entrusts even text-passages of great affective intensity to recitative. The most emphatically pathetic passages are commonly set in the only slightly less declamatory arioso style, as in the moving death-scene of *Caecilia Virgo et Martyr* (No. 6). The oratorio texts, furthermore, are for the most part lacking in just those formal elements — symmetrical structure, regular meters, refrains or other recurrent units, rhymed verses, and so on — that invite the similar formal elements of airs. The oratorio texts are also largely uncondusive to the sustained expression of a single affection that an air assumes. The librettist was either unwilling to interrupt the dramatic flow or, more likely, had not yet hit upon the solution of later librettists, whereby passages of real dramatic import were alternated with passages of static action but of emphatic and homogeneous emotional expression.

The airs of Charpentier's oratorios occur typically at points in the texts where such emotional plateaus are already present, and when poetry or other formalized literary structures occur. The composer responded differently to these two dramatic and textual situations, and we may distinguish between "affective airs" and "poetic airs."

The basic structural principle of the affective airs is that of a *rondeau*. The appropriateness of this principle is apparent only through

an investigation of the relationship between the texts of the affective airs and their music. Such an investigation shows that the composer makes a very nice reconciliation between the largely unsymmetrical and formless prose on which the airs are based and the formalized, balanced structure of a *rondeau*.

The affective airs are settings of speeches that are based on a single affection. Usually the first sentence of the text embodies the affection in terse, even understated terms. This "key-sentence" opens the door to further elaboration of the main thought. Thus, for example, when Ozias, chief of the Israelites, attempts to reassure his people who are dying of thirst, he begins: "Brethren, be of good courage." This sums up the affection that underlies the rest of his speech: "Let us yet endure five days, in which space the Lord our God may turn his mercy toward us; for he will not forsake us utterly. And if these days pass, and there come no help unto us, I will do according to your word."<sup>12</sup> Charpentier's manner of forming an air from such a text is to set the key-sentence as the principal section of a *rondeau*; the remainder of the text is used for the episode(s). Such episodes are set off from the principal sections by different meters, keys, thematic content, and textures; not infrequently declamatory recitative style is employed, especially if the text is lengthy. The criticism voiced frequently in the 18th century and later that the recurrence of the opening text and music is dramatically stultifying is not valid here. Since the dramatic meaning of the text lies precisely in its singleness of thought, and since that thought is stated in its purest affective form in the opening sentence, the recurrence of the sentence can only intensify the dramatic power of the text.

The most highly developed airs anticipate the ritornel-form of early 18th-century arias. A typical instance is the "Prayer of Judith." The text is Judith's passionate and vengeful imploration to God to let her destroy without reprisal the ruthless Holofernes.<sup>13</sup> Her murderous intent is tempered by a need to feel absolved of responsibility for the act. In this light, the affective core of the text is her invocation of God's support. This is the key-phrase, then: "O Lord God, God of my father!" Two flutes join the *continuo* for the ritornels (Ex. 3a). The instruments open the air, introducing the music to which the key-phrase will be set (Ex. 3b). The ritornel appears periodically during the course of the air, and the air concludes with it. The beginning of the first episode (Ex. 3c) shows the recitative style of the contrast-sections.

<sup>12</sup> Judith 7:23-25.

<sup>13</sup> Judith 9:2-17.

Ex. 3

a Flutes

b Judith  
Do-mi-ne De-us, De-us pa-tris me-i

c Judith  
Fac Do-mi-ne quae-so, ut Ho-lo-fer-nes ca-pi-a-tur la-que-o

What we have called "poetic airs" are formed by Charpentier on the infrequent occasions when regular poetic structures appear in the speeches of single characters. Reminiscent of the light 17th-century *chansons à danser* or *à boire* (as opposed to the more serious *airs de cour*), the poetic airs are derived from the minuet. The characteristic meter-signature of the minuet (3), the four-square phrase-structure, the frequent hemiola cadences, the *agrément*s, and even the repeated sections of a binary structure occur typically. Ex. 4 shows the beginning of a shepherd's air from one of the Nativity oratorios (*In Nativitate Domini N[ost]ri Jesu Christi Canticum*, No. 17), a *noël*-like song in which the chorus repeats the strophe quoted, thus combining the principle of sectional repetition found in French instrumental minuets with the practice of solo statement-ensemble repetition found in some vocal *chansons*.

Ex. 4

Sal-ve pu-e-ru-le, sal-ve te-nel-lu-le, O na-te par-vu-le, quam bo-nus es.

That Charpentier was, as Brenet once claimed, "above all, a dramatist,"<sup>14</sup> is suggested by some of the vocal ensembles of the oratorios. They display a vitality of musical characterization and a power of sug-

<sup>14</sup> Michel Brenet, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, in *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, VI (March, 1900), 65-73.

gesting dramatic conflict comparable to the finales of the 18th-century *opera buffa*. The quarrel between the two women who appear before Solomon, each claiming to be the mother of the single living child, is a masterly example. The True Mother has stated her case in a sensitive solo recitative. The False Mother begins the duet: she will have none of the other's protestations; in a very fast tempo suggested by the unusual meter 4/8, she waspishly claims, "That's not so; it's not as you say: your son is the dead one, mine lives." The True Mother retorts that the opposite is true. Their remarks become more and more curt; they interrupt each other; finally, each jabbars on, heedless of the other. All this is captured—indeed, it is created—by Charpentier's music for the scene. A few measures should be quoted to show the quarrel at its height (Ex. 5):

## Ex. 5

Vera mater  
est. Non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta ut di-cis

Falsa mater  
Non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta

(B.c.) Non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta, non est i-ta

The chorus fulfills a variety of functions in Charpentier's oratorios. The narrative role of the *historicus* is frequently assigned to it. It states the moralistic conclusions of the oratorios and, similarly, the detached commentary, analogous to the classical Greek choral ode, of the Faithful, the Damned, the People, and so on. Frequently the chorus is a *turba*, the crowd that is actually part of the drama. Musically, choruses and "choral ensembles" (in those *cantica* and *dialogi* that seem to be written only for small groups of solo singers) are among the most important elements of the oratorios. In the *historiae*, choruses are much more numerous than airs or ensembles, and they more than balance the recitatives in total length. As if to imply the importance of choruses, Charpentier sometimes even specifies the number of choral parts in a title, e.g. *Caecilia Virgo et Martyr octo vocib[us]* (No. 6).

The techniques and types of choral writing in Charpentier's oratorios are far more diverse than those of Carissimi's sacred dramatic works. Where Carissimi's choruses are almost exclusively homophonic, only the climactic *chori ultimi* being conceived in a more florid contrapuntal style,

Charpentier's choruses run the gamut from simple homophony to free counterpoint of the most intricate sort. Polychoral writing appears, both in the Venetian style of overlapping antiphony exploited occasionally by Carissimi, and in more elaborate contrapuntal textures. Even the *concertato* techniques of the French *grand motet* of Dumont, Lully, and Lalande are utilized. The 17th century's discovery of the sensuous beauty of choral harmony unmixed with instrumental doublings is clearly reflected in the frequency with which Charpentier specifically indicates in his scores that the usual strings are *not* to double the voice-parts. Exclamatory "O" 's and "Ah" 's are liberally sprinkled throughout the oratorio choruses; a moment like that illustrated below (Ex. 6) seems to have the single aim of creating as intoxicating a choral sonority as possible. The example is from *Extremum Dei Judicium*, just before the Chorus of the Damned sings the despairing line, "It would have been better had we never been born!"

Ex. 6

The musical score for Ex. 6 consists of five staves, each representing a different vocal part. The staves are labeled as follows: [Sopranos], [Counter-Tenors], [Tenors], [Basses], and [B.c.]. Each staff contains a vocal line with a corresponding 'Ah!' text. The music is in 2/2 time and features a complex contrapuntal texture with overlapping lines and a final cadence.

Charpentier deserves a place along with Lalande and Couperin as one of the few French composers of his time to be at home in a contrapuntal style of choral writing. There are few passages in French 17th- or 18th-century music to rival the integrity of line found especially in the choral laments of the oratorios. Perhaps the outstanding example is the final chorus, *Flevit amare*, of *Le Reniement de St. Pierre* (Ex. 7a). Not infrequently, purely linear claims override harmonic considerations and the harshest dissonances are treated indifferently as by-products of the counterpoint, as in the choral music of Charpentier's English contemporary, Purcell (Ex. 7b, 7c).

Ex. 7 [Soprano I]

Δ

fle - - vit a - ma - - - re, fle - -

[Soprano II]

- - vit a - ma - - - re, fle - - vit

[Counter-Tenors]

8 a - ma - - - re, fle - - vit a - ma - re

[Tenors]

8 fle - - vit a - ma - - -

[Basses]

fle - - vit a - ma - - re, fle - -

[B.c.]

b

[Counter-Tenors]

pug-nan - - te

[Tenors]

pug-nan - - te

[Basses]

(nan) - - te

[B.c.]

c

[Counter-Tenors]

ut vo - - - let

[Tenors]

ut vo - - - let

[Basses]

ut vo - - - let

[B.c.]

ut vo - - - let

The influence of the French *grand motet* is to be seen in the frequent alternation of full chorus with a soloist or with an ensemble of solo voices. Both procedures are characteristic of the motets of Dumont, Lully, and Lalande, with their division of the voices into a *petit* or *premier chœur* of soloists in contrast to the *grand* or *second chœur*. Charpentier's aim in such interpolations of solo voices or ensembles in the choruses seems to be purely musical: to diversify an extended choral number by a concerto-like alternation of *solī* and *tutti* sections. In *Judicium Salomonis*, Charpentier's absorption of the massive *concertato* style of French court composers is reflected in the alternation of chorus with orchestra or with a trio of two woodwinds and *continuo* (Ex. 8).

## Ex. 8

Ex. 8 is a musical score for a Latin oratorio. It features instrumental and vocal parts. The instrumental parts are: Violin I, Flute, Oboe (labeled [Vin. I, Fls., Obs.]), Violin II (labeled [Vin. II]), Viola (labeled [Vla.]), and Violoncello (labeled [Vc.]). The vocal parts are: Soprano (labeled [Sopr.]), Contralto (labeled [Contra Ten.]), Tenor (labeled [Ten.]), Basses (labeled [Basses]), and Bass (labeled [B.c.]). The lyrics are: "Sa-cer-dotes in tu-bis et le-vi-tae in or-ganis psal-le - bant". The score is in 6/8 time and G major. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked "Allegro". The score is for a full orchestra and voices.

Instrumental music in Charpentier's oratorios is by no means confined, as in Carissimi's works, to brief preludes, ritornels, and *ripieno* parts. To be sure, the smaller oratorios call for no more than the Italianate trio-sonata ensemble of two violins and *continuo*. But even these are used generously for preludes, postludes, and other independent movements in addition to the more conservative and traditional functions. The larger oratorios call for as impressive an instrumental body as a double string orchestra of eight real parts; moreover, flutes, oboes, bassoons, and trumpets are sometimes added to the strings in the choruses and are even used, very imaginatively, for *symphonies* on their own. Charpentier's oratorios seem to be unique for their time in the prominence they give to instrumental movements that are program-matically inspired. There are no prototypes in the oratorios of Carissimi for Charpentier's "night symphonies," "awakening symphonies," "enchantment symphonies," fanfares, marches, and *bruits de guerre*. Undoubtedly these *symphonies dramatiques* had their origin in similar divertissements that had long been traditional in French ballet, and that had been readily absorbed into Lully's operas. Their adoption by

Charpentier marks a significant expansion in the form of the oratorio.

"Night symphonies" or *sommeils* in four of the oratorios (Nos. 15, 25, 1, and 24) illustrate how close to Lully's instrumental movements are Charpentier's. Both French composers achieve a charmingly picturesque but somewhat amorphous representation of nocturnal stillness by the use of the same devices: soft flutes (recorders) and muted strings, slow tempo, slow harmonic rhythm, gently undulating melodic lines of uncertain direction, and minor harmonies with frequent suspension-dissonances. Charpentier's *sommeils* are Italianate only in their harmonies, which tend to be richer than those of Lully. The night-symphony of *Judicium Salomonis*, which functions as a prelude to the second half of the oratorio, anticipates the narrator's line that follows: "And the next night God appeared to him [Solomon] in a dream" (Ex. 9).

## Ex. 9

Fls. (without Obs.)

all Vins I (con sord)

all Vins II (con sord)

all Vlas (con sord)

Organ (without Cb.)

Bases and B.c.

Figured bass notation: 5 6 7 7 3 5 3 7 b7

Figured bass notation: 7 7 7 b7 3 8 #6 5 3



Charpentier's manuscripts evidence considerable concern on the composer's part for variety of instrumental and vocal color. Verbal indications like those in the *continuo* part of Ex. 9 are frequent in his scores. Verbal instructions for instrumental doubling of chorus parts are common. In themselves, these are not particularly noteworthy; what is notable is the frequency with which variety of tone-color is sought by omitting some or all of the instruments for a short time. With this procedure, together with frequent ritornels, occasional passages for solo voice or ensemble, and, of course, sections for full chorus orchestrally doubled, Charpentier achieves a relatively wide variety of sonorities through simple means. In the oratorios scored for only a few singers and instruments, fullness of sonority is often achieved by using the instruments as *ripieni* (in the sense defined by Brossard in his *Dictionnaire* — that is, as parts that do not double the voices but have independent melodic lines designed to make the harmony more complete).

One wonders, inspecting an oratorio text like those used by Charpentier, what principles of musical form guided the composer in setting that text. Innumerable possibilities must have presented themselves, especially in view of the fact that oratorio had as yet developed few stereotypes of form in its brief history. One may, of course, point to certain traditional procedures, rooted in the early history of oratorio, that Charpentier observes scrupulously. He explicitly divides an *historia* into a *pars prima* and a *pars secunda*, just as earlier Italian composers of oratorio had divided theirs to permit the interpolation of a sermon between the two parts.<sup>15</sup> The more dramatically realistic oratorios of Charpentier conclude with the traditional climactic summation of the moral of the drama, expressed by all the musical forces of the work. But these are merely procedures; they tell us nothing about the "form" of the oratorios, if the word is construed to refer to principles that guide and control the shaping of an art-work, rather than to the patterns that are the ultimate expression of those principles. Two such principles that seem operative in Charpentier's oratorios are (1) tonal stability and (2) diversity of adjacent components.

Tonality in Charpentier's oratorios is remarkably stable by comparison with the tonal architecture of the oratorios and especially the operas of his contemporaries. One source of this tonal stability may be the composer's view of an oratorio as a special kind of motet, thus a work to be regulated by the long-traditional notion that a composition "should be subject to a prescribed and determined harmony, mode, or tone (call

<sup>15</sup> Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio*, Milan, 1945, p. 178.

it as we will), and that it should not be disordered."<sup>16</sup> A more intriguing if even more conjectural explanation may be found in the rather remarkable views of Charpentier on the subject of "key-feelings" (*énergie des modes*). Charpentier is perhaps the first composer-theorist to have drawn up a systematic table of the expressive character of each of the major and minor keys in his vocabulary. This table appears in the brief *Règles de composition* prepared by the composer sometime around 1690, probably for his pupil the Duke of Chartres. Having explained in a technical sense the different keys and modes, Charpentier attempts to answer the question, "Why [use] different keys?"

The principal reason is for the expression of the different passions, for which the different feelings of the several keys are appropriate.

#### THE KEY-FEELINGS

C major.....	Gay and warlike
C minor.....	Obscure and sad
D minor.....	Grave and pious
D major.....	Joyous and very warlike
E minor.....	Effeminate, amorous, and plaintive
E major.....	Quarrelsome and clamorous
E $\flat$ major.....	Cruel and harsh
E $\flat$ minor.....	Horrible, frightful
F major.....	Furious and quick-tempered
F minor.....	Obscure and plaintive
G major.....	Sweetly joyous
G minor.....	Serious and magnificent
A minor.....	Tender and plaintive
A major.....	Joyous and pastoral
B $\flat$ major.....	Magnificent and joyous
B $\flat$ minor.....	Obscure and awful
B minor.....	Solitary and melancholy
B major.....	Harsh and plaintive <sup>17</sup>

Assuming that Charpentier's table refers to the keys considered as predominant tonalities — what Rameau would later call *tons régnants* — and not as temporary tonal levels visited in the course of modulations, we find that the oratorios are in general responsive to the composer's theories on keys. A given text, considered as a unit like a motet text, centers on a limited number of basic affections. The choice of predominant tonality, hence of related keys within individual sections of an ora-

<sup>16</sup> Gioseffe Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, Venice, 1558, Book III, Section 26; transl. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, New York, 1950, pp. 229-30.

<sup>17</sup> Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Règles de composition*, Bibl. Nat., MS, nouv. acq. fr. 6355, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>.

torio, is determined at the outset by the affections to be represented. In the shorter oratorios, especially the *dialogi*, a single affection sometimes prevails throughout; a single predominant key and mode reflects this affection, as in *Canticum in honorem Beatae Virginis Mariae*, where G major is the principal key throughout. In a work like *Dialogus inter Magdalenam et Jesum*, one mood gives way to another: mourning is succeeded by jubilation. This succession of emotional states is represented by a change from G minor ("serious and magnificent") as the predominant tonality to G major ("sweetly joyous"). Even more lengthy oratorios seem governed by the principle of tonal stability, the predominant tonality apparently chosen for its correspondence with the basic affection of the text. From Charpentier's standpoint, what better key than A major to pervade the pastoral scenes of the Christmas story as related by Saint Luke (e.g. in Nos. 13 and 25)?

If an oratorio is strongly unified by the principle of tonal stability, it is lent a relieving variety by the principle of diversity of adjacent components. Diversity, contrast, thesis and antithesis, statement and answer — these seem, indeed, to be the ideals of most of the new music of the 17th century, of the oratorio as one type of that new music, and of our composer Charpentier most explicitly. The pre-oratorio forms of the dramatic-narrative *mottetto concertato* and biblical dialogue display contrast as a profoundly important principle of form. With Carissimi's fully developed oratorios, the contrast-principle of the *dialogus* and the *mottetto concertato* is greatly expanded. Not only are individual voices and groups of voices contrasted with each other, but instruments occasionally join in to form contrasting preludes and ritornels; solo passage is followed by ensemble, and ensemble by chorus; one choral group is contrasted antiphonally with another; and voices are opposed antiphonally with instruments. The oratorio becomes a vast fresco which unrolls in a succession of diverse dramatic and musical episodes. That the emphasis on contrast and diversity in his oratorios reflects the tradition of the form and the musical climate of Charpentier's period is demonstrable. That such diversity is, moreover, a conscious ideal of the composer himself is made clear in the *Règles de composition*, which includes the word "diversity" on almost every page. It would seem that, for Charpentier, *la diversité* is, indeed, the highest goal of music: "Diversity is the very essence of music . . . Diversity alone is the source of all that is perfect in it, just as uniformity is the source of all insipidity and unpleasantness in it."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Charpentier, *Règles de composition*, fol. 13.

The ideal of diversity is displayed in its most elemental form in those oratorios of Charpentier that most closely resemble the biblical dialogues of the early 17th century: *Canticum in honorem Beatae Virginis Mariae* (No. 9), *In Circumcisione Domini* (No. 19), *Elevation* (No. 20), *Dialogus inter Christum et Peccatores* (No. 28), and *Dialogus inter Magdalenam et Jesum* (No. 29). These works illustrate the principle of contrast not only in their consistent alternation of the dialoguing groups; they also—with the single exception of *Dialogus inter Magdalenam et Jesum*, which is in any case a uniquely fragmentary work—illustrate the principle musically, since every *dialogus* contrasts performing groups of different voices and number of parts.

The nature of the diversity underlying the *cantica* and the *historiae* may best be shown diagrammatically. *In Nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (No. 13), for example, is made up of nine “movements” or “numbers,” arranged in the following order:

Prelude  
 Recitative  
 Air  
 Chorus  
 March  
 Recitative  
 Air  
 Chorus  
 Postlude

It is clear from this order that none of the “numbers” is preceded or followed by another in the same style or medium. The following diagram shows even more clearly the complete achievement of diversity, for it reveals how each of the apparently repetitive styles and media (e.g. recitative, air, instrumental movement) is varied in some way on its return:

- Prelude (3 meter; A B A' form)
- Recitative (duet; simple recitative style; *continuo* accompaniment only)
- Air (solo; affective air in quasi-rondeau form)
- Chorus (predominantly contrapuntal)
- March (♩ meter; A B A C A form)
- Recitative (solo; predominantly arioso style; accompanied by 2 violins and *continuo*)
- Air (solo; poetic air in binary form)
- Chorus (wholly homophonic)
- Postlude (3 meter; free form)

If tonal stability and diversity of adjacent components seem to be the two major formal principles underlying the music of Charpentier's oratorios, there is one more that is at least implied in some of them: symmetrical structure of the entire work. The clearest example of this kind of musical thought is the very oratorio we have been discussing; a slightly different arrangement of the first diagram is illuminating:

Prelude

Recitative

Air

Chorus

March

Recitative

Air

Chorus

Postlude

The form of the oratorio is almost perfectly symmetrical. The oratorio is framed by two instrumental movements, both in triple meter, and both in minuet style, while the axis is the march of the shepherds, for instruments alone. The main body of the oratorio is disposed in two similar parts, one between the prelude and the march, the other between the march and the postlude. The first half of the oratorio, from the opening of the prelude to the march, is 203 measures long; the second half, from the end of the march to the end of the postlude, is 213 measures long.

To summarize the discussion of the formal principles of Charpentier's oratorios: The oldest traditions of oratorio, few as they are, are reflected in Charpentier's works through tonal unity, climactic-moralistic conclusions, and bipartite structure in the *historiae*. The principle of diversity inherent in the *dialogus* and embodied in most of the new music of the 17th century is, for Charpentier, the highest aim of music, and his oratorios manifest *la diversité* on virtually every level of form. Finally, in some of the oratorios the diverse components are ordered by symmetrical organization into a more subtly unified whole than that afforded solely by dramatic continuity and tonal stability.

From the vantage point of the 20th century, Charpentier's oratorios seem to represent exactly the mid-point between those of Carissimi and those of Handel. This remark, obviously true in the chronological sense, may be maintained even more strongly in the stylistic sense, although Handel was probably unaware of Charpentier's contributions.

The points of stylistic correspondence and difference between Charpentier and Carissimi need be elaborated no further here; those between Charpentier and Handel are of a very general nature, more a matter of attitude than of technique. Charpentier is more closely in touch with the religious tradition within which the oratorio developed than is Handel. The French composer's sacred dramas are conceived more in ecclesiastical than in theatrical terms, and their power rests partly on the simple elegance of the biblical prose that is essentially the model for their librettos. But Charpentier's oratorios show clearly, also, the direction of the form towards a more flamboyant mode of expression and a greater dramatic emphasis. They display the trend of late 17th-century vocal music towards a greater crystallization of structure and a generally heightened importance of the purely musical over the purely textual. And they are eminently dramatic, if the term refers to a style in which contrast and diversity — the very heart of drama — are the salient features, and in which every element aspires to capture and project the affections and the "actions" implicit in the texts. They are the work of a composer who, under different circumstances, might well have neglected church music in favor of opera.

The question inevitably arises: What influence did Charpentier exert on later composers? Virtually none, from the standpoint of the oratorios alone. None of them was published in his lifetime, nor, indeed, for two hundred years after his death. The existence of a second copy of *Filius Prodigus* at Versailles is the only indication that any of them was ever performed for a wider circle than Charpentier's own. After Charpentier, hardly a single French composer until Berlioz concerned himself with oratorio. When Jean-Joseph Mondonville presented *Les Israélites à la montagne d'Horeb* under the title *motet français* in 1758, the work passed for a great novelty.<sup>19</sup> Only a few years later Rousseau was to write in his article on oratorio for the *Encyclopédie*: "This practice [that of performing oratorios] is not at all admitted in France."<sup>20</sup>

Far from clear are the reasons for the obscurity into which Charpentier's oratorios fell so quickly. Schering has suggested that the principal reason lies in the rationalistic thought of the French, who saw a fundamental contradiction in dramatic works left undramatized.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Brenet, *Les Concerts en France sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1900, pp. 256-57.

<sup>20</sup> *Oeuvres de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Paris, 1817, IV (*Dictionnaire de musique*), 274.

<sup>21</sup> Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 514.

Nef has claimed that prejudice on the part of the Church towards the secular overtones of dramatic music may be held accountable.<sup>22</sup> Admitting the merit of both views, we may adduce still another reason. The period was not one of preoccupation with the historic; new music was, *ipso facto*, better than old. The exceptional composers whose music lived after them were mainly those who had been politically powerful, whose works had been widely published, or who had been renowned as performers. As a composer of Italianate stamp in the Paris of Lully's day, Charpentier was never able to exert a very powerful influence. With the exceptions of a few airs and the opera *Médée*, none of his music was printed during his life. And there is no evidence whatsoever that he was a redoubtable performer. With his death, this combination of factors resulted in quick obscurity. Who but the indefatigable Brossard would make the effort to copy out Charpentier's manuscript music?

An admirable opportunity for performance of Charpentier's oratorios arose with the inception of the Concerts Spirituels in 1728, conceived with the aim of providing musical diversion during Lent, when the opera was closed. But by that time a more modern kind of music was wanted; the program of the first Concert Spirituel included the Christmas Concerto of Corelli and three works by Lalande. Both composers represented a style more modern than that of Charpentier, whose works would have been considered by that time somewhat too learned and old-fashioned. During most of his life a member of the musical minority in Paris, an "Italianate" composer in an atmosphere generally inimical to Italian music, Charpentier's opportunity for making an indelible personal imprint on Parisian musical society came too late. He was quickly forgotten, along with a host of other, and lesser, composers, until today, when the revival of interest in older music has brought his music to light and, we hope, to life again.

<sup>22</sup> Karl Nef, *Das Petrus-Oratorium von Marc-Antoine Charpentier und die Passion*, in *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* für 1930, pp. 24-31.

## THE LATIN ORATORIOS OF MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER

Code No.	Title	Location*	Type
1	Judith sive Bethulia liberata	t. 2, fol. 4-19	Historia
2	Canticum in Nativitatem Domini	t. 2, fol. 42-44 <sup>v</sup>	Canticum
3	In Honorem Caeciliae, Valeriani, et Tiburtii Canticum	t. 2, fol. 48 <sup>v</sup> -52	Canticum
4	Pour la feste de l'Epiphanie	t. 2, fol. 64-67	Canticum
5	Historia Esther	t. 3, fol. 12 <sup>v</sup> -31	Historia
6	Caecilia Virgo et Martyr	t. 3, fol. 35 <sup>v</sup> -57	Historia
7	Pestis Mediolanensis	t. 3, fol. 120-130 <sup>b</sup>	Canticum
8	Filius Prodigus	t. 4, fol. 70-80 <sup>c</sup>	Historia
9	Canticum in Honorem Beatae Virginis Mariae	t. 4, fol. 80 <sup>v</sup> -88 <sup>v</sup>	Dialogus
10	Extremum Dei Judicium	t. 4, fol. 96-109	Historia
11	Mors Saulis et Jonathae	t. 4, fol. 119 <sup>v</sup> -134 <sup>v</sup>	Historia
12	Caecilia Virgo et Martyr	t. 6, fol. 77-89	Historia
13	In Nativitate D N J C Canticum	t. 6, fol. 89-96	Canticum
14	Caecilia Virgo et Martyr	t. 7, fol. 92-100 <sup>d</sup>	Historia
15	In Nativitate D <sup>ni</sup> Canticum	t. 9, fol. 51 <sup>v</sup> -61	Canticum
16	Josue	t. 11, fol. 23-36 <sup>v</sup>	Historia
17	In Nativitate Domini N <sup>ri</sup> Jesu Christi Canticum	t. 12, fol. 20 <sup>v</sup> -22 <sup>v</sup>	Canticum
18	Sacrificium Abrahae	t. 18, fol. 21-29 <sup>a</sup>	Historia
19	In Circumcisione Domini: Dialogus inter Angelum et Pastores	t. 20, fol. 11-14	Dialogus
20	Elevation	t. 20, fol. 11-14	Dialogus
21	Praelium Michaelis Archangeli factum in Coelo cum Dracone	t. 20, fol. 68-? <sup>f</sup>	Historia
22	Caedes Sanctorum Innocentium	t. 21, fol. 1-10	Historia

\* The oratorios numbered 1 to 26 are found among the 28 *tomes* of Charpentier holographs (Bibl. Nat., Rés. Vm<sup>1</sup> 259). Those numbered 27 to 34 are listed according to their Bibl. Nat. catalogue entries.

<sup>b</sup> A prelude is found in t. 17, fol. 24-25. Henri Quittard edited and published half (!) of this work under the title *La Peste de Milan*, Paris, [190—].

<sup>c</sup> A prelude is found in t. 17, fol. 21-22. Another copy, under the title *L'Enfant prodigue* without mention of the composer, is in the Bibl. de Versailles, MS 58, fol. 23-49<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> A prologue is found in t. 22, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> "Simphonies ajustées au Sacrifice d'Abraham" are found in t. 16, fol. 70<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> This work is incomplete; it is the last composition in t. 20, which lacks the final folios.



THE LATIN ORATORIOS OF MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER (*Cont.*)

Code No.	Title	Location	Type
23	Nuptiae Sacrae	t. 21, fol. 34 <sup>r</sup> -47 <sup>r</sup>	Canticum
24	Judicium Salomonis	t. 27, fol. 19-36	Historia
25	Dialogus inter Angelos et Pastores Judaeae in Nativitatem Domini	t. 28, fol. 23-36	Dialogus
26	In Resurrectione Domini N J C	t. 28, fol. 37-44	Canticum
27	Le Reniement de S <sup>t</sup> Pierre <sup>a</sup>	Vm <sup>1</sup> 1269, pp. 1-23	Historia
28	Dialogus inter Christum et Peccatores	Vm <sup>1</sup> 1269, pp. 69-89	Dialogus
29	Dialogus inter Magdalenam et Jesum <sup>b</sup>	Vm <sup>1</sup> 1478	Dialogus
	Méditations pour le Caresme:	Vm <sup>1</sup> 1175 <sup>b1a</sup>	
30	No. 4: Ecce Judas		
31	No. 5: Cum cenasset Jesus		
32	No. 6: Quarebat Pilatus		
33	No. 7: Tenebrae factae sunt		
34	No. 10: Tentavit Deus Abraham		

<sup>a</sup> Available in an edition by Henri Quittard, Paris, [190—].

<sup>b</sup> Available in two modern editions, one edited by Quittard, Paris [190—], the other by Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, II, No. 226. The latter edition, apparently based on Quittard's, mistakenly describes the work as a part of *Le Reniement de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre*.

## CLAUDIO MONTEVERDI: SOME PROBLEMS OF TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION

By HANS F. REDLICH

THE recent appearance of two versions of Monteverdi's *Vespro della Beata Vergine*, 1610, both in print and on phonograph records, touched off a lively discussion concerning the composer's intentions and the proper way of realizing them in modern presentations. The opinions seem to be so contradictory that they tend to obscure an understanding of the performance-practice of the early 17th century—a subject difficult to reconstruct under any circumstances. The confusion thus created is all the more dangerous because it plays into the hands of those executants of early music who, intent on faithfully reproducing the "original," tend to approach with suspicion any practical edition of early 17th-century music seemingly at variance with the musical *res facta* of the "original."

Let us summarize briefly those arguments that represent what might be called the "fundamentalist" position:

Monteverdi's Vespers was planned and conceived as a liturgical and artistic unity, unmistakably reflected in the publication of 1610. That publication (although only in part-books and not in a score-like arrangement like the first print of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, 1609) should be closely adhered to in its order of movements, in its indications for the participation of instruments, and finally in its suggestions for practical performance, despite the fact that these indications and suggestions are often ambiguous and even capable of contradictory interpretations. Any editorial addition, whether in the *basso continuo*, the orchestral layout, the ornamentation, or the general arrangement of the vocal parts, is to be deplored and should be avoided because Monteverdi made his artistic will abundantly clear in the aforementioned publication.

Now let us examine this position.

As for the frequently expressed belief in the preconceived artistic and liturgical unity of the Vespers, this is in plain contradiction to the facts,

collected by scholars since the far-off days of Carl von Winterfeld and his earliest critical assessment of the work.<sup>1</sup> No autograph survives and no records exist proving that the work was ever performed during the composer's lifetime as a liturgical and artistic unity. All existing evidence moreover suggests that it was neither conceived nor ever presented as such. The only clue to a possible performance of two or three of its sections can be found in a letter addressed by Monteverdi to the Duke of Mantua and dated Mantua, March 26, 1611.<sup>2</sup> It accompanied copies of "un motettino a due voci da essere cantato nella levatione di N. S. et un altro a cinque della Beata Vergine . . ." The sentence may refer to *Pulchra es* (a due voci) and perhaps to one of the psalms. The credibility of this assumption seems further enhanced by the fact that the third composition mentioned in the letter and apparently added to the other copies is a "Dixiat [*sic*] a 5" which might refer to the psalm *Dixit Dominus*.<sup>3</sup> This letter with its unmistakable reference to the Vespers clearly shows that Monteverdi was willing to perform isolated motets and psalms from this work, taken out of their liturgical context and used for the musical accompaniment of certain liturgical functions within Holy Week. The title-page of the first print supports that point of view. In it the Vespers appears — together with some other sacred motets — as a liturgical appendix to the six-part parody Mass *In illo tempore*, which in turn is presented — typographically also — as the pivotal part of the whole publication.<sup>4</sup> However, the strongest argument against the "unity theory" mentioned above is to be found in the word-book as well as in the liturgical character of the fourteen sections of the Vespers. While it contains the five traditional psalms, only two of the required five antiphons have been actually composed. The places of the missing ones are taken by *Audi caelum* and *Duo Seraphim*, both based on words entirely outside the liturgy of the Vespers.<sup>5</sup> Monteverdi further included

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.v. Winterfeld, *Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, 1834, II, 51 ff. In III, 112 ff. Winterfeld published for the first time fragments from the Vespers (parts of the psalm *Dixit Dominus* and the *Deposuit* section from the Magnificat a 7).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. F. Malipiero, *Claudio Monteverdi*, Milan, 1930, No. 12.

<sup>3</sup> "Dixiat" must be a misprint or a misreading of Monteverdi's handwriting, as may be "a 5" (for "a 6"). All settings of the psalms in the Vespers of 1610 are either a 6 or a 8.

<sup>4</sup> The original title of the publication of 1610 reads as follows: "... Sanctissimæ Virgini MISSA SENIS VOCIBUS ad ecclesiarum choros ac Vespere pluribus decantandæ cum nonnullis sacris concentibus, ad Sacella sive Principum Cubicula accommodata . . ." The last clause may be interpreted as being in the nature of an *a posteriori* license to perform parts of it in the semi-privacy of princely chapels.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leo Schrade, *Claudio Monteverdi — Creator of Modern Music*, New York, 1950, pp. 251-53.

the *Sonata sopra S. Maria*, based on a litany not prescribed for the Office of the Vespers.<sup>6</sup> He finally added two different versions of the Magnificat, both composed in the same "mode" and operating with similar plainchant motifs, yet designed for strongly contrasting sonorities. Whereas the first Magnificat is composed "septem vocibus et sex instrumentis," and actually employs a motley orchestra with flutes, shawms, cornets, trombones, solo violins, strings, and organ, the smaller second Magnificat uses the organ alone for the accompaniment of its six-part chorus. The inclusion of this second Magnificat in the publication of 1610<sup>7</sup> finally knocks the bottom out of the "unity theory." The two alternate versions of the Magnificat as well as the non-liturgical character of certain portions of the Vespers clearly indicate that the publication of 1610 was meant as a loose collection of diverse liturgical compositions rather than as a single artistic unit. It was most probably meant to be performed as a "concerto ecclesiastico" outside the service and in a selective presentation of movements rather than as a complete and unified entity of psalms and antiphons.

Although the work was dedicated and personally presented by the composer to Pope Paul V and subsequently, i.e. some time in the autumn of 1610, published in Venice, no performance, in either Rome or Venice, is on record.

My conviction that Monteverdi's artistic aims would be served better by a selective presentation than by strict adherence to the contents of the first print prompted me to issue the Vespers alone in a first practical edition,<sup>8</sup> severed from the main body of the stylistically archaic Mass *In illo tempore*, including the colorful and orchestrally accompanied Magnificat *a 7* and deliberately excluding the "little" Magnificat as well as two psalms (*Nisi Dominus* and *Lauda Jerusalem*), composed in the choral tradition of Giovanni Gabrieli and therefore comparing less favorably with the revolutionary or experimental sections of the Vespers. Even so, an unabridged performance of my edition takes nearly two hours to perform—unless excessively fast tempos are chosen, as in a recent recording of the work.<sup>9</sup> This recording, surprisingly enough, seems to agree with

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schrade, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> Which Schrade is admittedly unable to explain. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 253. It is of interest to note that the "little" Magnificat *a 6* is evidently missing in Winterfeld's handwritten copy of the Vespers (Vol. 58 of the collection Winterfeld, Berlin State Libr.). Cf. H. Leichtentritt, *Geschichte der Motette*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 243 ff, which enumerates and describes 13 items only, omitting the "little" Magnificat.

<sup>8</sup> Universal Edition, Vienna, 1949 (2nd, revised ed., 1952); issued on gramophone records by Vox in 1953 (Vox PL 7902).

<sup>9</sup> Oiseau Lyre 50021/22, based on an edition by Leo Schrade, as yet unpublished.

my own version on several important editorial points, such as the choice of the seven-part Magnificat and the omission of the "little" one, the division of the vocal parts into "soli" and "tutti," especially in the psalms, the ascription of the monody *Nigra sum* to a soprano in contradiction to the first print, which calls for a tenor voice, and on sundry other matters of modern presentation.

As for such editorial addenda as *basso-continuo* realization, added embellishments, improvisatorial instrumental parts, in my opinion they are justified—and needed—in view of the peculiarities of performance practices in the music of the early 17th century.

The integral part played by diminution, ornamentation, and embellishing passages (for voice and instrument alike) in the interpretation of the vocal *res facta* as well as in the realization of any *basso-continuo* music between approximately 1597 and 1640 is emphasized in all relevant treatises and prefaces of the period. Here are two quotations, selected at random from the works of two great contemporaries of Monteverdi, amply supporting the employment of organ and viola da gamba in extemporizing passages as they occur in particular during the *falsobordone* sections of *Dixit Dominus*, as well as bearing out other improvisatorial aspects of my own *basso-continuo* treatment:

The organist should, however, . . . remember that as long as the *falsobordon* remains stationary, he should always improvise on the organ or harpsichord appropriate and ornamental runs or passages underneath [the *falsobordon*], which confer upon this work . . . the appropriate manner . . .

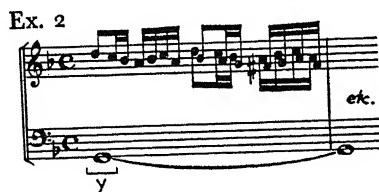
. . . Among the others a viola, too, might execute passages, as is usual in *falsobordon*, and with good effect . . .<sup>10</sup>

Wherefore it is much better if the lutanist . . . occasionally weaves into the *Concert* lovely chords, passages that are here wide-ranging, there succinct, doubled and repeated at times, with a cluster of alien harmonies as if a modulation were intended, in a pretty and engaging manner . . . he can [furthermore] repeat . . . and in a word, endow the parts with long groups, trills, and grace-notes used

<sup>10</sup> From Heinrich Schütz's preface to his *Auferstehungshistorie*, 1623 (cf. Schütz, *Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften*, ed. E. H. Müller, Regensburg, 1931, p. 70). "Es ist aber der Organist . . . zuerjndern, dass so lange der falsobordon in einen thon weret, er auff der Orgel, oder Instrument, mit der Hand jmmer zierliche vnd approprierte leuffe oder passaggi darunter mache, welche diesem Werck . . . die rechte art geben . . . . . Es mag auch etwá eine Viola vnter den hauffen passegieren, wie im falsobordon gebrauchlichen ist, vnd einen guten effect gibt."



plied "foundation instruments."<sup>14</sup> This conjecture finds support in two facts: with the sole exception of "x" the organ score of the first print consists entirely of a duplication of the vocal parts, down to the section "Illuc enim," when for the first time a typically organistic pedal-point underpins the doubling of the concertante voices of Cantus and Sextus in the upper staff of the organ part:



"y" is obviously the first legitimate *basso-continuo* entry for the organ and other "foundation instruments"; "x" was used again in a later version of *Laetatus sum*<sup>15</sup> and this time in the manner of a *strict ostinato*,



supporting a six-part chorus and an orchestra comprising — *inter alia* — first and second violins, two trombones, and bassoons. Example 2 clearly shows that the organ part of the "partitura" consists of doubling parts (in the upper staff) which were most probably not meant to be played at all but were cued in as guides for the execution of the *basso continuo* (see "y"). That the organist's "partitura" did not represent a fully worked-out realization becomes even clearer in the case of *Laudate*

<sup>14</sup> Schrade's argument (in *The Musical Quarterly*, January 1954) that such additional instruments should not be used if they are not provided in the "original" is neither here nor there. It is well known that Monteverdi himself frequently indulged in a liberal interpretation of his own original requirements. The first production of his ballet *Tirsi e Clori* is a case in point. Its first print (published 1619 as part of Madrigal-Book VII) asks for "voci et istrumenti a 5," specifying only bass lute and spinet as accompanists for the vocal solos. However in a letter to A. Striggio, dated Venice, Nov. 21, 1615, discussing the preparations for its first performance at Mantua (which eventually took place there in April 1616), Monteverdi expressly asks for a specified orchestra of "8 viole da braccio," "un contrabasso," a small spinet, and—if possible—two small lutes. In addition he suggests the use of a harp—replacing the bass lute for the accompaniment of the vocalists, in case the singers are accompanying themselves.

<sup>15</sup> Published in *Missa a quattro e Salmi . . .*, 1651, Collected Edition, ed. Malipiero, XVI, 231 ff.

*pueri*, where the partitura is headed by the title "Laudate pueri a 8 voci sole nel organo." Up to measure 14 (in Malipiero's edition, Vol. XIV, p. 153 ff.) the partitura contains nothing but the cued-in eight vocal parts. This probably indicated an *a-cappella* rendering of that particular section which should only be discreetly supported by the organ in case of an emergency.<sup>16</sup> At "nomen domini" the Cantus and Sextus enter with a florid passage (crying out for soloistic treatment), underpinned by a *cantus-firmus* quotation in the Quintus. The picture in the organ partitura now shows a sudden change. At measure 2, page 155 (*op. cit.*) the *basso continuo* enters for the first time in this psalm with a part of its own, establishing an independent harmonic base for the *concertante* upper parts in the upper staff (*cf.* lower staff at "x"):<sup>17</sup>

Ex. 4



The belief of some of my critics that in his Vespers Monteverdi had completely clarified his demands for the participation of instruments, is

<sup>16</sup> On such considerations of style are probably based those *a-cappella* passages in Schrade's edition of *Laudate pueri* and *Laetatus sum* which evidently displeased Hans Nathan (*cf. Music Review*, May 1954) who calls them "arbitrary" and dismisses the *a-cappella* setting of the "Et misericordia" in the Magnificat (in my own edition of the Vespers) on similar grounds. However, while the issue may be in doubt in the case of *Laudate pueri* because of Monteverdi's specifying remark "nel organo," I think that Schrade was strictly within his editorial rights when he decided to arrange parts of the psalm *Lauda Jerusalem* for purely vocal performance. For its thoroughbass belongs to the expendable type of *basso seguente*, which was often added for convention's sake only to music of evidently polyphonic conception. This is certainly so in "Et misericordia," which in the first print bears the characteristic subtitle "A 6 voci sole in dialogo." This is to me a clear indication of its intrinsic *a-cappella* conception. Here again the *continuo* part is but a *basso seguente*, automatically doubling the lowest part of the vocal ensemble. Its character is identical with the *continuo* parts of acknowledged *a-cappella* compositions such as the *Missa da cappella In illo tempore* (1610) and the four-part *Missa da cappella* (published as part of the posthumous collection *Missa a quattro e Salmi . . .*, 1651). *Cf.* the preface to my edition of that Mass (Ernst Eulenburg Ltd, London, 1952).

<sup>17</sup> If Schrade believes that both staves together represent the "original accompaniment" to the vocal parts of the psalm, then he is evidently mistaken. The upper staff contains the cued-in vocal parts of Cantus and Sextus, while the lower one contains the *basso continuo* proper, the full realization of which was left entirely to the instrumental executants. This becomes evident from the typographical layout of the first print (1610), a microfilm of which is in my possession.



not only contradicted by the apparent ambiguities of a *basso-continuo* part in general that leaves so much to the interpretation of players but also by special conditions, such as the one prevailing in the "Deposuit" section of the *Magnificat a 7*, where the *concertante* parts of the two cornets and of the two subsequent solo violins are integrated in the partitura (*cf. op. cit.*, XIV, 303 ff.) and where the vocal part of the Quintus is duplicated in the partitura on a separate staff, however without any indication as to its execution. It remains an open question whether this part should be played on the organ or whether it should be allotted to a—thus far unspecified—wind instrument.<sup>18</sup>

The plea put forward by some for preservation of the authentic version (or for the "original") of Monteverdi's Vespers is equally applicable to all *basso-continuo* compositions of Monteverdi and his epoch. That plea makes strange reading in the face of the manifold problems of interpretation confronting the modern scholar when charged to edit this music for practical use.

If it remains difficult enough to interpret correctly Monteverdi's elliptic *basso continuo* in the Vespers of 1610, what is to be done in the case of his later madrigals to which a *basso continuo* was added "a beneplacito"? What constitutes the "authentic version" or "the original" in their case?<sup>19</sup> The special problems of these madrigals present—as in a nutshell—all the editorial and interpretative difficulties bedeviling Monteverdi-scholars today. They also indicate the extent to which improvisatorial solutions may be expected from the executant of today as they must have been expected from his forerunner in 1600. Monteverdi's Madrigal-Book V (Venice, 1605) contained the characteristic subtitle: ". . . Col basso continuo per il Clavicembano, Chittarone, od altro simile istromento; fatto particolarmente per li sei ultimi & per li altri a bene-

<sup>18</sup> I have discussed the special problems of instrumental participation, as they arise in the psalm *Dixit Dominus* and in the hymn *Ave maris stella* (both from the Vespers, 1610), alongside other editorial problems of Monteverdi's music in general, in my recent article *The Editing of Monteverdi*, in *Renaissance News*, VII, Nos. 1/2, 1954.

<sup>19</sup> I think it likely that a majority of these madrigals was performed by consorts of viols as string-fantasias without any vocalists or else as vocal ensembles, with an accompanying body of strings duplicating the parts. What kind of music is Monteverdi supposed to have played throughout the years of his exclusive employment as "suonatore di Vivuola" at the court of Mantua (from c. 1590 to 1594) if not principally the madrigals that were published in quick succession between 1587 and 1605? It is significant that in his dedicatory letter of Madrigal-Book III of 1592—addressed to Vincenzo Gonzaga—he twice connects these madrigals with his appointment as violist: ". . . così nella professione mia della musica quatanque col nobilissimo esercizio della Vivuola che m'aperse la fortunata porta del suo servitio . . ."

placito . . .,"<sup>20</sup> thus indicating that the *basso continuo* is obligatory for the six *concertato* madrigals (published at the end of the volume) while its use in the case of the majority of thirteen madrigals remained at the discretion of performers. Monteverdi's vagueness led to the unfortunate result that up to date no modern edition has reprinted the *basso-continuo* parts to Madrigals 1-13 or has taken the trouble to assess them properly.<sup>21</sup> Closer investigation shows that these *basso-continuo* parts occasionally differ from the "basso" part they are reputed to duplicate automatically. In addition, they do not always act as a *basso seguente*, i.e. following the respective lowest part of the voices, but they occasionally double the next higher part, evidently for reasons of harmonic color and contrapuntal clarity. The *basso-continuo* part of *Cruda Amarilli* (Madrigal-Book V, No. 1) yields examples for both features:<sup>22</sup>

## Ex. 5

Ex. 5 shows two musical examples from Monteverdi's *Cruda Amarilli*. The first example shows the Basso and Basso cont. parts. The Basso part is in treble clef and the Basso cont. part is in bass clef. The lyrics are "Ahi - - - los - so". The second example shows the Basso and Basso cont. parts. The Basso part is in treble clef and the Basso cont. part is in bass clef. The lyrics are "do - - - mi mo - rò" and "do - - - mi mo - (rò)".

In my opinion this *basso-continuo* part—although published in 1605 and in subsequent contemporary reprints only a *beneplacito* of the performer—deserves to be included (together with its proper realization,

<sup>20</sup> It recurs—somewhat differently worded—in the *basso-continuo* part-book of Madrigal-Book V (reprint, Venice, 1615): "... quale necessariamente anderà sonato bisogno de li ultimi sei Madrigali e per li altri a beneplacito . . ."

<sup>21</sup> They are omitted without any explanation in Malipiero's edition, Vol. V. Leichtentritt in his edition of Monteverdi's Madrigals (Peters Ed. No. 3232c) mentions them in his *Textrevision*, but believes them to be unnecessary and detrimental to the total impression. The matter has been broached in my *Claudio Monteverdi, I: Das Madrigalwerk*, Berlin, 1932, p. 107, note 1, p. 145, and p. 146, note 1.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. reprint of 1615, Phalèse, Antwerp.

based on the performing traditions of the period) in any modern edition that attempts to offer something like an "authentic version."<sup>23</sup> The attitude of scholars to this special problem of Monteverdi's madrigals shows marked differences of opinion. While Leo Schrade makes rather light of the matter of this "basso seguente" (as he calls it),<sup>24</sup> Alfred Einstein<sup>25</sup> takes a more serious view, castigating the omission of that instrumental bass-part in Malipiero's edition as "most misleading."

This contrast of opinions in the special case of Monteverdi's madrigalistic *basso-continuo* parts tends to underline the necessity for mutual patience and toleration among scholars as well as for continued review of past opinions in the complicated case of Monteverdi's musical text in general and its shifting interpretations. It also emphasizes the regrettable fact that a thoroughly critical, authoritative, and simultaneously practically usable edition of Monteverdi has up to date remained an unfulfilled claim in the realm of international musical research.

<sup>23</sup> This madrigal—together with 12 others, all taken from Madrigal-Books I-VI only—is issued in a critical and practical edition by myself, at present in process of publication by Schott & Co., London.

<sup>24</sup> Schrade, *Monteverdi*, p. 201, note 10, *et passim*.

<sup>25</sup> Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, 1949, II, 862.

## CURRENT CHRONICLE

### UNITED STATES

#### Louisville, Kentucky

*In 1948 the Louisville Orchestra inaugurated a policy that promises to have far-reaching consequences in our musical life. This American orchestra suddenly brought back the days when not only kings, princes, and archbishops kept the composer busy by commissioning works for all manner of occasions, but so also did municipalities, universities, and consistories. The result of this patronage was the seemingly endless flow of new works, many of which are to us the great masterpieces of old. With the shifting of the emphasis from composer to performer the productive patronage of the creative artist practically ceased in Europe, even though here and there we have a "Composer Laureate," a "Master of Musick," or a "Democratic People's Artist." The institution was never really known in this country.*

*The initiative of the Louisville orchestra and of its governing body found support in one of our great foundations, and in 1953 the Rockefeller Foundation entered the field of music by granting the Louisville Philharmonic Society a generous award to continue its laudable activities in the furthering of contemporary art. It was the first American musical organization so honored.*

*While it is not our custom to publish the repertories of our performing organizations, this is clearly an event of such cultural importance, and so revealing in its enlightened espousal of the cause of the creative arts, that we are glad to print Mr. Herz's compilation. For the list of composers and works will vividly demonstrate the remarkable results achieved by this thoughtful enterprise.*

*Editor*

*In 1948 the Louisville Orchestra began to commission a new work for each of its five pairs of annual subscription concerts. By 1953 the*

following compositions had been created for and first performed by the Louisville Orchestra:

Claude Almand	John Gilbert: A Steamboat Overture
Claude Almand	Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (Benjamin Owen, soloist)
Robert Russell Bennett	Concert Variations on a Crooner's Theme for Violin and Orchestra (Aaron Rosand, soloist)
Carl Bricken	Daniel Boone: Legend for Orchestra
Carlos Chávez	Symphony No. 4
David Diamond	Timon of Athens—A Symphonic Portrait after Shakespeare
Lukas Foss	A Parable of Death for narrator, chorus, tenor solo, and orchestra (Vera Zorina, narrator)
Roy Harris	Kentucky Spring
Roy Harris	Second Piano Concerto (Johana Harris, soloist)
Paul Hindemith	Sinfonietta in E
Arthur Honegger	Suite Archaique
Jacques Ibert	Louisville Concerto
Norman Dello Joio	The Triumph of St. Joan: A Symphony in 3 Movements (written for and danced by Martha Graham)
Otto Luening	Louisville Concerto
Gian Francesco Malipiero	Piano Concerto No. 3 (Orazio Frugoni, soloist)
Bohuslav Martinu	Intermezzo
Peter Mennin	Symphony No. 6
Darius Milhaud	Kentuckiana (Divertissement sur Vingt Airs du Kentucky)
Paul Nordoff	Lost Summer, for Mezzo-Soprano and Orchestra (Nan Merriman, soloist)
George Perle	Second Symphony
Vincent Persichetti	Serenade No. 5 for Orchestra
Quincy Porter	Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra (Ann Monk and Dorothea Atkins, soloists)
Joaquin Rodrigo	Cuatro Madrigales Amatorios (Marimi del Poso, soloist)
Bernard Rogers	Dance Scenes
William Schuman	Judith: A Choreographic Poem (written for and danced by Martha Graham)
Tom Scott	Fanfare and Cantilena
Virgil Thomson	Wheat Field at Noon
Virgil Thomson	Five Songs after William Blake (Mack Harrell, soloist)
Heitor Villa-Lobos	Erosion: The Origin of the Amazon River. Sym- phonic Poem

The reward for this unusual and constructive venture came in 1953, when the Rockefeller Foundation selected the Louisville Philharmonic Society as recipient of a generous grant, the first musical organization in the country thus honored. The funds of this grant are to be used over a period of four years for the weekly introduction of a newly commissioned work. Each Saturday afternoon four contemporary pieces of music are presented in concerts informally called "Public Readings." At each of them one of the compositions receives its world première, another, heard for the first time the week before, its second performance, and so forth in the manner of a four-part canon. By a system of monthly rotation each commissioned work will be played at least four times before it is recorded and makes room for a new composition.

Of the forty works commissioned each year, two are operas,<sup>1</sup> ten student awards, and the remaining twenty-eight<sup>2</sup> are about equally divided between American composers and composers from abroad. The appended list shows the work (exclusive of the student awards) accomplished in the first year of the commissioning project, which began on January 2, 1954.

Ernst Bacon	The Enchanted Island
William Bergsma	A Carol on Twelfth Night
Boris Blacher	Opus 45, Studie im Pianissimo
Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco	Overture to <i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
Henry Cowell	Symphony No. 11
Paul Creston	Invocation and Dance, Opus 58
Luigi Dallapiccola	Variazioni per Orchestra
Gottfried von Einem	Meditations
Alan Hovhaness	Concerto No. 7 for Orchestra
Ulysses Kay	Serenade for Orchestra
Otto Luening and Vladimir Ussachevsky	Rhapsodic Variations for Tape-Recorder and Orchestra
Darius Milhaud	Ouverture Méditerranéenne
Jose Pablo Moncayo	Cumbres
George Perle	Rhapsody for Orchestra
Vincent Persichetti	Symphony for Strings
Karol Rathaus	Prelude for Orchestra, Opus 71
Gardner Read	Toccata Giocosa, Opus 94
Wallingford Riegger	Variations for Piano and Orchestra (Benjamin Owen, soloist)

<sup>1</sup> The series itself lasts for 46 weeks. But since each opera takes the place and time of four orchestral compositions and is, like them, performed four times, the total number of commissioned works is forty.

<sup>2</sup> Actually 33, since the five pairs of subscription concerts continue the policy of including a newly commissioned work on each of their programs. (See end of this list.)

Vittorio Rieti	Introduzione e Gioco Delle Ore
Robert L. Sanders	Little Symphony (No. 2) in B $\flat$
Henri Sauguet	Les Trois Lys
Halsey Stevens	Triskelion
Carlos Surinach	Sinfonietta Flamenca
Alexander Tcherepnin	Suite for Orchestra, Opus 87
Ernst Toch	Notturmo
Heitor Villa-Lobos	Alvorada na Floresta Tropical (Dawn in a Tropical Forest)
Bernard Wagenaar	A Short Overture
Robert Ward	Euphony for Orchestra
<i>Operas 1954</i>	
Peggy Glanville-Hicks	The Transposed Heads (after a short story by Thomas Mann)
Richard Mohaupt	Double Trouble

*Opera commissions awarded for 1955 to*

George Antheil	Rolf Liebermann
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*Commissions, regular subscription series 1954-55*

Alberto Ginastera	Pampeana No. 3
Gian Francesco Malipiero	Fantasia di Ogni Giorno
Robert Muczynski	Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (composer as soloist)
Alexander Tansman	Capriccio
Fifth Commission	not yet selected

The following four compositions were scheduled for performance in December 1954. They will round out the first year of the Louisville Rockefeller Foundation project:

Felix Borowski	The Mirror
Ingolf Dahl	The Tower of St. Barbara
Leo Sowerby	Overture, All on a Summer's Day
Ben Weber	Prelude and Passacaglia

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One of the best of the recently commissioned works has been selected for analysis.

Luigi Dallapiccola's dodecaphonic Variations for Orchestra (1954) is the orchestral version of *Annalibera's Notebook*<sup>3</sup> for piano, which the composer wrote for the International Contemporary Music Festival at Pittsburgh, 1952. He dedicated the *Notebook* to his eight-year-old daughter named for the liberation of Florence, his home city. The

<sup>3</sup> *Quaderno Musicale di Annalibera.*

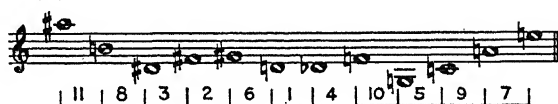
adaptation of the *Notebook* for orchestra constitutes a major creative effort comparable in original thought and painstaking labor to Bach's adaptations of works of his own to new media of sound. Still another composition now in progress, *Songs of Liberation* for chorus and orchestra, is based on the same twelve-tone row.

More provocatively than *Annalibera's Notebook* for piano the Variations for Orchestra run the full gamut of human emotions but avoid the weird, the unhealthy, the agonizing that perhaps too often has inspired atonal composers. Three years ago Dallapiccola acknowledged his indebtedness not only to the dodecaphonic trinity but to Proust and James Joyce as well.<sup>4</sup> In a recent letter<sup>5</sup> he expressed the opinion that the arts "at a special moment in history have a common problem. If I were competent in painting, I am sure that even in this art I could find very striking analogies with twelve-tone music." While this might be argued, what matters is that few of Dallapiccola's colleagues have found freedom of musical expression through a discipline that in their opinion history has imposed upon them.

Dallapiccola's latest composition may well be a work that will last, for in it a system often thought rigid, because many of its practitioners have treated it rigidly, becomes communicative in a convincingly personal and non-esoteric manner. It seems almost providential that it should take an Italian, a Florentine, to demonstrate that twelve-tone music can sing, that it can be limpid in form, listenable and intelligible.

The Variations for Orchestra are based on this twelve-tone row:<sup>6</sup>

Ex. 1



and its inversion:

Ex. 2



<sup>4</sup> In a somewhat confused article in the *Music Survey*, Oct. 1951.

<sup>5</sup> Written in French to the Louisville Philharmonic Society, February 14, 1954.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers between the tones indicate the intervals measured in half-tones. Observe that the row comprises all the intervals, the way Dallapiccola lists it. But it is not an all-intervallic row in the accepted sense of the term. For the analyst of twelve-tone music reads the tones of a row either all in an upward direction or all in a downward one.



The peculiarities of the row with its triadic end and its implications in terms of row transformations are exploited by the composer with great ingenuity. Measures 11-14, derived from the inversion of the row, may serve as a striking example of dodecaphonic euphony:<sup>7</sup>

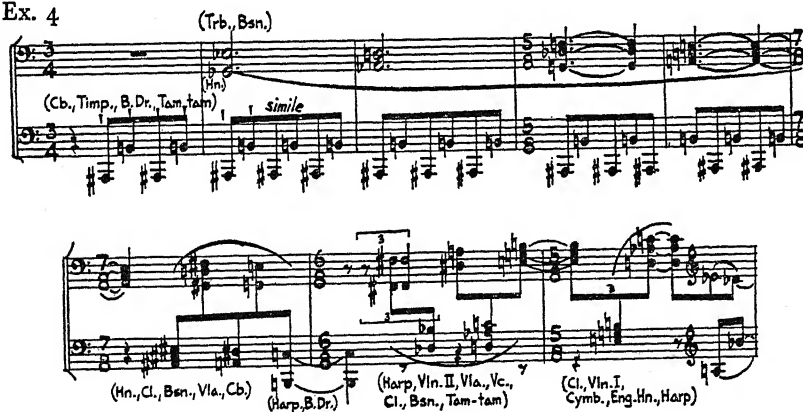
## Ex. 3



## Var. I:

The eleven variations start with a homage to Bach. The first, which is also the weightiest and longest, is called *Symbol*,<sup>8</sup> *quasi lento*. Over a steady procession of staccato basses (double basses, timpani, bass drum, and later tam-tam) the name B-a-c-h, transposed to E $\flat$ -D-F-E $\flat$ , is introduced in the trombone as part of the following brass chorale. These opening eight measures are characteristic of the imaginative linear and vertical use that Dallapiccola makes of the row throughout the work:

## Ex. 4



The whole movement concerns itself with the Bach motif, its inversion, variants, and transpositions on two distinct levels. The appearances

<sup>7</sup> All quotations are presented by permission of Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, Milan.

<sup>8</sup> This subtitle and those of the following ten variations appear only in *Annalibera's Notebook* for piano. In *Variations for Orchestra* the composer limits himself to the tempo indications.



*Var. IV. Lines. Tranquillamente mosso:*

In this two-part Invention in binary form the two lines are derived separately from the row. While a four-note horn motif recalls the opening movement with its B-a-c-h motto, the end with the oboe tootling G $\flat$ -C $\flat$ -A $\flat$  back and forth is sheer shepherd's music. A quietly moving pastoral variation, it evokes with its unceasing gentle weaving of two alternating tones (clarinet, later flute), an exquisite mood of stillness.

*Var. V. Contrapunctus secundus. Poco allegretto (3/4; binary):*

This whimsically short canon in contrary motion at a distance of one quarter note is the only variation that is characterized by the fragmentary phrasing, wide leaps, and brittleness found, for example, in Schoenberg's dry and impish mock serenade from *Pierrot Lunaire*. Preceded as well as followed by two slower legato movements, its place is strategically chosen.

*Var. VI. Friezes. Molto lento; con espressione parlante:*

In this melodic movement in free recitative style the musician relieves the mathematician of the preceding variation. The cunningly simple binary pattern evolves when, half way through, the 'cello (joined by viola, English horn, and French horn) presents the inversion of the opening clarinet melody with the chordal accompaniment of the brasses in inverted form in the upper strings. In contrast to the gentle two-part flow of Var. IV (*Lines*), the rhapsodic rhythms and bizarre contours of the melody of Var. VI with its two-part accompaniment stand out in sharper relief (hence the name, *Friezes*).

*Var. VII. Andantino amoroso e contrapunctus tertius (canon cancrizans):*

The four versions of the row make up the rhythmically subtle two-part theme. After the opening statement by the strings the woodwinds, repeating the theme in forward motion, and the strings now reversed in orchestration as well as direction, pass each other on their opposite ways. Observe in mm. 1-4 of the quoted passage the symmetrical pattern created by forward and then retrograde motion:

Ex. 6

Woodwinds, 2<sup>a</sup> volta

Flute (div.) b

Cl.

Vln. I (div.)

Vln. II (div.)

Vla. (div.)

Vcl. (div.)

Bsn.

Ob.

Vln. I, II, Vla. (div.) Ccl.

Hrn.

Vibraph.

Cel. Strs.

Vla. (div.)

Strings, 2<sup>a</sup> volta

The eight variations in binary form are tighter in construction and therefore most of them shorter than the three variations that break through this orderly pattern.

*Var. VIII:*

*Rhythms*, an *Allegro* with frequently shifting time values, shows the following organization of form: A-B-A-B-A. Note by note analysis reveals a more complicated system of derivation from the row, such as repetition of one half of the row. The contrast between violently leaping rhythms (A) and the unearthly subdued mood produced by reiterations of row-derived chords (B) recalls similar passages of violence and sudden foreboding in *Le Sacre*.

*Var. IX. Colors. Affettuoso; cullante:*

Stravinskian ejaculations are followed by a soft impressionistic variation. Its rocking motif is scored with pastel-like colors. The dogmatic twelve-tone analyst may well raise an eyebrow at the echoes of the principal phrases. To this writer they appear as welcome "cheating" by a musician twelve-tone composer.

*Var. X. Shadows. Grave:*

In contrast to the luminosity of the preceding movement the outer portions of Var. X are made ominous by heavily accentuated dark chords of the brasses. A mysterious middle section supporting a four-note wind motif seems to point back to the beginning of the composition with its B-a-c-h symbol.

*Var. XI:*

A *Quatrain; molto lento, fantastico*,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , closes the work. A rhythmically free expressive recitative sings the four verses of a quatrain each of which is based on one of the four versions of the row. The last strain sounds its original, uninverted forward-moving form.

Dallapiccola's *Variations for Orchestra* are not variations in the traditional sense of the word. They are applications of a twelve-tone row to the various elements of music. It seems indicative that the work begins, not didactically but imaginatively, in search of a symbol and finds it in B-a-c-h, and that it ends with the poetic expression of a quatrain. Contrapuntal devices, so often one-sidedly exploited, are given an important but not domineering place, being featured only in three canons. Rhythm, color, and melodic line are of comparable significance, each being explored in two variations. This careful choice contributes greatly to the

over-all impression of balance and contrast. In the opinion of this reviewer very few composers have produced in recent times an unpretentious organization of orchestral sound that exhibits so much taste, imagination, beauty, and expressiveness as Dallapiccola in his *Variations for Orchestra*.

GERHARD HERZ

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### New York

A group of five miscellaneous short orchestra works by Charles Ives has been used by Ballanchine as music for the new ballet *Ivesiana* at the City Center. Quite aside from the value of the dance as such, some of the pieces are heard in live performance for the first time in New York, and none of them has before been in any repertory, so that one could hear several performances. The ballet uses *Central Park in the Dark*, *Over the Pavements*, *In the Inn*, *Hallowe'en*, *The Unanswered Question*, and *In the Night*. These were not originally composed as a set to go together, and we understand that some will be changed about for next season; but the order works very well, and it is strictly according to Ives's usual practice that the final movement should be a slow one. Leon Barzin conducted an excellent and relaxed performance, meeting with equanimity the difficult rhythmical problems of the pieces that conductors used to say couldn't be performed. The ballet is original and somewhat daring, even if not always very closely related to the music or to Ives's philosophies.

*Central Park in the Dark* (Ives added the words "Some Forty Years Ago" to the title when it was published recently) was suggested by a walk along a pathway that Ives knew very well, since he lived near the Park. He could hear sounds of others walking without being able to see them; it is not the mystery of loneliness in the dark, but of the dark seething with unseen activity. The path runs close to a merry-go-round, and in the middle section there are superimposed fragments of an old ragtime song in jerky syncopation above the calm-flowing basic dissonances. The latter win out in the end, however, and the quiet melodic first theme returns.

*Hallowe'en* is an amusing scherzo, based on the flying about of small children, each busily engaged in his own trick-or-treat activity. There are tricks or treats in the simultaneous keys of C, B, D-flat, and D, all

scampering about in the strings, mostly dashing up and down scalewise, against a piano which encourages with syncopated polychords.<sup>1</sup> *Hallo-*



*we'en* is meant to be played through several times, and Ives has directions "If played four times" and "If played three times" (in the latter case—First time: Allegretto—*pp.* second violin and 'cello, until two measures before the D.C. which all play. No piano. Second time: Allegro—*mf.* All strings, piano may play; if so—*pp.* Only upper and lower notes in each hand; or piano may not play at all this time. Third time: Presto—*ff.* All play all notes and coda). Ives then adds: "P.S. A bass drum or a drum during the last time may play the total rests in measures 3, 4, 5, and 8, and from there on may add his own part—impromptu, or otherwise." Nothing could be more typical of Ives's attitude to the performance of his works. For the close, Ives makes believe that he is going to end in C major and then fools one by dashing up in chromatic triads to E-flat instead.

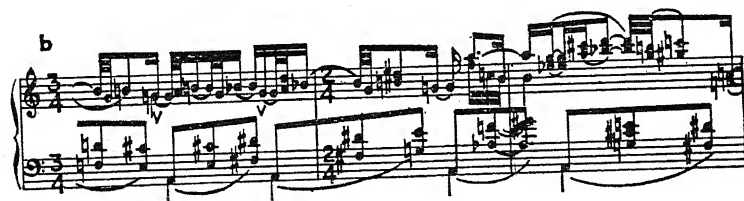


<sup>1</sup> The examples from *Hallowe'en* are printed by permission of Bomart Music Publications, Inc.

*Over the Pavements* was first suggested by the nervous, restless pacing of city pavement-walkers, who seem always to be in a hurry, but never get anywhere. Later Ives incorporated some of the ideas into *In the Cage*, to suggest the thought of an animal pacing back and forth. The music continues an energetic *ostinato* in 3/8 and 5/8, with the tonality bouncing back and forth from C to F-sharp.

*In the Inn* describes the feelings of one standing outside in the dark and listening to ragtime being played in the inn. Although this was written well before the advent of the Charleston or of the popularity of the rumba, the characteristic rhythms of both may be found here, as well as a great many more syncopations, both basic and complex. Even today, if there is any other piece with as many varieties of syncopation, it is unknown to us. The secundal chords in the introduction have tremendous rhythmical bite (Ex. 3a) while the main theme preserves a lyricism of spirit that seems in extraordinary contradistinction to the 32nd-note syncopations against a background of 3/8 superimposed on changing meters of 3/4 and 2/4 (Ex. 3b). Example 3b shows several such miscellaneous syncopations, of which there are many, many more of the same nature sprinkled throughout the work. In the City Center the orchestra version was used, but *In the Inn* is also incorporated into the First Pianoforte Sonata as a scherzo-like section.

Ex. 3a Allegro (between 76-112 = ♩)



*The Unanswered Question*, which has been performed once before in New York and may be heard on records, seems on its way to becoming a repertory piece. The idea is original, the result moving, the form simple and understandable. A string section plays long-sustained open-spaced



triads; when they have got well started, a trumpet (or English horn or oboe or clarinet) sounds the Question against the strings in biting dissonance. This stirs up what Ives calls "the flutes and other human beings" to find the "invisible answer." This they do with a scurry and a flurry, again in dissonance to the strings, which continue, without paying any attention to the goings on of the wind instruments, in their quiet and aloof concordance. At the end, in spite of the wildest efforts of the flutes to find the Answer, the Question is still asked again by the trumpet, and the strings remain to give a sustained triad of G major at the close.<sup>2</sup>

Ex. 4

The musical score for Ex. 4 consists of two systems of staves. The first system has four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first three staves contain rapid, complex passages with many triplets and slurs, marked with 'Con fuoco' and 'fff'. The fourth staff in the first system is a bass line with a treble clef, also containing complex figures. The second system has four staves. The first two staves are treble clef and contain sustained, slow-moving lines with some triplets, marked with 'ppp' and 'PPPP'. The third and fourth staves are bass clef and also contain sustained, slow-moving lines, marked with 'ppp' and 'PPPP'. The overall texture is dense and complex, with a mix of rapid and slow-moving parts.

*In the Night* is a short nocturne composed of a dark interweaving of low, slow-moving voices, each with its own rhythm and melody. Against this impressionistic fabric a snatch of familiar hymn tune sometimes emerges, as though sung in free rhythm, or as though heard in

<sup>2</sup> This example used by permission of the copyright owners: Southern Music Publishing Company, Inc., New York.



one's mind rather vaguely. It dies away without coming to any very definite conclusion, a sort of ending very beloved of the composer.

Since the death of Ives in May 1954, there have been, as might be anticipated, a number of performances of his works, and a new surge of interest in them. Yet in spite of everything he continues to be a controversial figure. In America he is more and more becoming a real influence among younger composers, perhaps more in his philosophy than in his musical practice; yet for this to operate there must be a prerequisite of appreciation of transcendentalism and a certain acceptance of informality. The American followers of the more modern schools of Paris and Vienna are apt to be very critical of his position in American music, even though musicians in both these centers have responded with great interest to his compositions. All in all, however, there can be no indifference in any camp to the uniqueness and fervor of Ives's works, in comparison with most other American composers' products during his most fertile period—about 1893 to 1914.

HENRY COWELL

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#### AUSTRIA

In considering Rolf Liebermann's new opera *Penelope*, which had its première at the 1954 Salzburg Festival, it is a practical impossibility to separate the text from the music—or at least any attempt to do so would be flying in the face of the facts. For the text in this instance dictates the form, and, to a greater extent than in most operas, the musical expression as well.

*Penelope* is the result of a close cooperation between the librettist, Heinrich Strobel, chief of the music department of the Südwestfunk, one of Germany's leading radio stations, and the composer, who occupies the corresponding position in Radio Zürich. It is their second joint opera, following by two years on the heels of *Leonore 40-45*. Like the first opera, *Penelope* deals with a contemporary problem—that of the returning prisoner of war, and by extension the whole problem of war. The authors are of the opinion that the modern opera, to be valid, must concern itself with things of today, that it must eschew the trappings and conventions of 19th-century opera and that it must avoid equally rigidly that kind of realism in which the film excels. The modern opera, according

to Strobel, must "raise reality to the status of a symbol by fashioning the raw material to a stylized form."

*Penelope* is indeed a highly stylized piece, in which intellectual considerations play a major role. The action takes place on two planes, the ancient and the modern, and at the end the two planes are merged to achieve an allegorical third plane, independent of time and place. The first plane (the forward part of the stage) represents ancient Greece. Penelope, plagued by suitors who urge her to give up hope for Ulysses's return, is praised by the chorus for her steadfastness. Pointing to the tapestry that she has been weaving for many years, she offers to reveal the future and to play the leading role in the modern tragedy herself. The three suitors are not, as in the Homeric legend, the bloom of the land but three silly old men—a merchant, a warrior, and a poet—who supply the buffo element of the "opera semiseria." The drawing aside of the tapestry reveals the second plane, on which the main tragic action takes place: the villa of the Marchese Ercole in present-day Italy. The ensuing drama tells the story (a true one, incidentally) of a modern Penelope who has not waited for the return of her husband, officially declared dead, but who has remarried. As she and her husband sing of their happiness a messenger enters with a letter from her first husband, who is still alive and who is expected with a group of returning POW's that very day. Penelope would persuade Ercole to run away with her from this frightful situation, but Ercole insists she go to the piazza to meet Ulysses. After a short "flash-back" to the ancient plane, the scene of the returning soldiers is played in the public square. The mayor, in his welcoming speech, forgives the soldiers for having lost the war and being taken prisoner, while he and his colleagues "held the fort" at home. Penelope here learns that Ulysses died and was buried at sea on the homeward journey. When she returns home she finds that Ercole has hanged himself. Cursing God and fate, she sinks unconscious to the ground. At this point the allegory begins. The ancient Ulysses appears, now a symbol for all humanity, and sings that the miracle of his return was possible only through the genius of the great poet Homer; the two scenic planes are merged and the opera closes statically with a hymn to the redeeming power of art.

This story, with its curious mixture of periods, of sentiments, and of action planes, could easily have resulted in theatrical and musical confusion; the fact that it does not testifies to the skill of the authors, who were able not only to preserve order in this fantastical plot but also to make the story real and convincing. The framing action remains subordinate to the modern tragedy until the final allegory in which modern and

ancient are merged in the abstract and all characters become symbolical. The opera moves quickly—the total amount of music is scarcely 80 minutes—and is characterized by constant and rapid changes of pace and mood. In accomplishing these changes, Liebermann employs various stylistic elements, from tonal to atonal, from satirical to heroic, from pseudo-Wagnerian to boogie-woogie, constantly varying the musical techniques according to the demands of the text and of the dramatic action. Twelve-tone technique underlies much of the writing, but it is applied in a very loose form and is frequently abandoned in favor of a completely free style. In such passages as the following, however, one feels the influence of twelve-tone thinking, even though the series is not complete:<sup>1</sup>

Ex. 1



In the final scene Ulysses's, then Penelope's melody consists of a twelve-tone row so harmonized as to create a tonal feeling:

Ex. 2



The parodistic and satirical passages are among the most effective, for example the mock-heroic tone of the mayor as he welcomes the returning heroes:

<sup>1</sup> Examples copyright by Universal Edition AG, Zurich; by permission of Associated Music Publishers, Inc.

Ex. 3



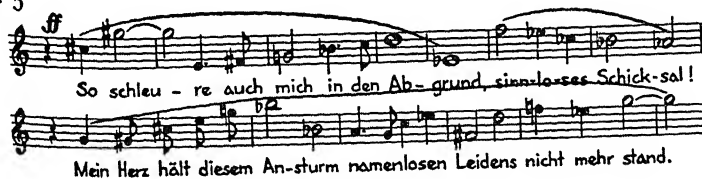
Nationalism and chauvinism are satirized in a scene in which two of the silly suitors of Penelope urge the "poet," who stutters, to write a more blatantly "patriotic" kind of doggerel. He replies in the key of C:

Ex. 4



In the lyrical and dramatic scenes, Liebermann gives the voices melodic passages which despite their difficulty are none the less vocally grateful and dramatically effective, as in Penelope's aria upon discovering that Ercole had hanged himself:

Ex. 5



In his setting of the text Liebermann displays a fine sense of declamation and succeeds moreover in making the voices heard, and the text understandable, even in the most complicated passages. The orchestration is highly effective and skilful not only in itself but also as accompaniment, never covering the voices but giving them adequate support. Although the music is continuous in each of the two parts into which the opera is divided, there is a clear division into recitative, arioso (*accompagnato*), aria, and concerted numbers. *Penelope* is in effect a "number" opera, in which the numbers are connected by short orchestral passages or run directly into one another. This treatment of the musical

form does much to establish the formal clarity that characterizes the work.

Concerted numbers play a leading part in the opera. The chorus comments on the state of events throughout the work and joins with the principals in the final hymn to the saving power of art. The recurring terzets of the three suitors, who in the "homecoming" scene become three city officials and who supply the comic-satirical element, are most effective and clever. The love-duet between Penelope and Ercole in their first scene is a fine example of modern *bel canto* in the twelve-tone style.

The success of *Penelope* was great. It has already been accepted by some thirty opera houses for early staging. It is hardly conceivable, however, that a better performance can be realized than that of Salzburg, in which George Szell conducted, Christl Goltz sang the leading role, Caspar Neher provided the décors and costumes, and Oskar Fritz Schuh was the *metteur-en-scène*.

EVERETT HELM

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#### ISRAEL

For the first time in its history of more than thirty years the International Society for Contemporary Music was the guest of its Israel section last summer. Milhaud's *David*, performed in Jerusalem in connection with the festival, has been discussed in these pages.<sup>1</sup> The concerts, too, given at Haifa, were gratifyingly impressive occasions. After the crisis in Salzburg in 1952 and the change of personnel in Oslo last year the ISCM now has apparently found a course leading it past both the Scylla of anemic experiments and the Charybdis of overly uncritical liberality, without, however, closing its ears altogether. The jury — K. B. Blomdahl (Sweden), Elliott Carter (U.S.A.), Peter Gradenwitz (Israel), Mario Peragallo (Italy), and Domingo Santa Cruz (Chile) — is to be commended for having discovered, or at least spotlighted, a considerable number of talents.

One of the most interesting as well as effective works was the colorful and aggressively vital Symphony (in four movements) by the Frenchman André Jolivet. It showed a tendency towards Classicism, other features being occasional use of polytonality, impressive climaxes, and

<sup>1</sup> See the October 1954 issue, p. 575.

flashes of mysticism. The work evinces ingenious and talented workmanship, but its stylistic orientation is not entirely clear, since it seems to reflect recent models rather than any uncompromising individuality of its own. The Concerto for Viola and Orchestra by Josef Tal (Israel), seemed to be a more homogeneous composition, giving evidence of more solid stylistic concepts. Related to Bartók rhythmically and melodically as well as in its rhapsodic impulsiveness, its harmony reminiscent of Stravinsky's *Orphée*, it conveys the concentrated tension of an impassioned utterance, controlled and deepened by an alert sense for order and proportion, which gives it general, rather than purely subjective, validity.

One of the most important works presented at the music festival in Haifa was the String Quartet No. 2 by Roger Sessions, another one of the valid specimens of new American music, which has received growing admiration in Europe, especially since the recent performance in Rome of Elliott Carter's String Quartet. Sessions's great and impressive work is often wilful, sometimes even to the point of bizarreness, very complex, and almost excessively rich in invention and scrupulous workmanship; it could never be accused of conventionality or "simple" solutions. All this is true also of the String Quartet by Leon Kirchner, an obviously highly gifted pupil of Sessions. An extended work abounding in imaginative touches, the Quartet reaches a high level of stylistic independence and personal utterance in its surges of passion, especially in the second movement (Adagio). The young Lasalle Quartet from Cincinnati gave the two compositions a perfect performance of great intensity, thereby proving themselves on a par with the first-rate chamber-music ensembles of international renown. Kirchner, Tal, and Jolivet each received one of the prizes donated to the Haifa festival.

Another composer so honored was the Japanese Yoritsune Matsu-deira, who had contributed two elegant songs for voice and chamber orchestra. The composer presented his audience with something of a specialty, in that he had managed to uncover — with great creative imagination and a fine sense for sonority and form — some startling parallels between the strict rules of ancient Japanese court music (*Gagaku*) and modern twelve-tone technique. The young Austrian Michael Gielen similarly uses a Bach chorale as the scaffolding for a variation movement for string trio, whose twelve-tone structure delights in ingenious concealment of the ever-present Bach theme rather than presenting it in the form of a conventional, hymn-like climax. This attitude is typical of the more thoughtful representatives of the younger

European generation, who have developed a — justifiable — skepticism towards the empty tradition of the "large form." Of course, they encounter great difficulties in their efforts to cast off the shackles. In this respect the Italian Riccardo Malipiero (nephew of the grand old Gian Francesco) is more successful in the way in which he loosens the severity of his Violin Concerto in neo-Impressionistic fashion.

Other noteworthy compositions performed were the noble String Quartet by Erich W. Sternberg (Israel); the atmospheric *Gesänge der Rahel* by Abraham Daus (Israel); some fascinating choruses by Bernhard Levkowitch (Denmark); a song cycle, *Liebe und Verlassenheit*, by Arnold van Wyk (South Africa), whose work revealed him as an inventor of expansive melodies; and the symphonic poem *Odyssey of a Race* by Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brazil), a sincerely felt tribute to the suffering and resurgence of the Jewish people. This brief selective enumeration suffices to give an idea of the stimulating variety that characterized the festival and caused even the general public to follow it with lively interest. This report would be incomplete without mention of the excellent performances of native and foreign artists. And those responsible for organization deserve special commendation for their circumspection. In taking on and discharging the obligations and responsibilities connected with such a festival Israel has shown a desire for accomplishment which cannot be disregarded in the future. Her standing in the international musical scene is assured.

HEINZ JOACHIM

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#### ITALY

The 1954 Venice Festival will remain memorable on account of the première of the "new Britten" which took place on September 14 in the Teatro La Fenice. The first of his seven operas whose première was given outside England, *The Turn of the Screw* claims particular attention because it marks an important stage in his stylistic development. Although it is admittedly futile to discuss the literary ingredient of an opera apart from the musical one, I could not help feeling that if it is possible to condemn *The Magic Flute* on account of its plot, I am justified in considering *The Turn of the Screw* a failure; but luckily the merits of the music more than compensate for the demerits of the story.

Henry James's *novella* is said to be a tale of the supernatural, of evil apparitions and horror in their wake. I am willing to believe that readers of the 1890's were indeed filled with horror by this sort of thing, but I am quite certain that people whose lives coincided with the events of the 1940's will consider James's little tale of evil much less than life-size. Although connoisseurs seem to value highly his literary style, I must confess that his method of communication, his personal idiosyncrasies, long-winded sentences, asides, his habit of never explicitly stating what he wants to say but hinting at it in a peculiarly circuitous way exasperated and finally bored me. Still, it is possible to interpret the story as an individual representation of the clash between Good and Evil with the final triumph of the latter, and to admit that its vagueness and its psychological overtones were precisely the features that attracted Britten. Obviously, a consummate musician like Britten would know that in opera music is called upon to express what words have left unsaid; and here this amounted to quite a lot.

By those who have read the book the librettist's particular problems will be guessed at once: the narrative is presented in the first person, through the eyes of the Governess. But this literary device cannot be conveyed by the usual means of the operatic stage where the drama is presented through the characters themselves; laid out flat, as it were. A perceptive English critic suggested, after the performance, that in the circumstances the ideal solution would have been a mono-drama after the model of Schoenberg's *Erwartung*. It is much to the credit of Myfanwy Piper (the librettist) that she succeeded in preserving a great deal of James's actual wording in spite of the inevitable transformation of the story. The addition of a scene for the two ghosts — who are, incidentally, mute characters in the book — at the opening of the second act is a concession to operatic conventions as well as a means of increasing the dramatic tension by giving more definition (scenically, verbally, and musically) to the evil forces. The opera is divided into 16 scenes, allotting 8 to each of the two acts; it is prefaced by a Prologue for the Narrator.

By resorting to Schoenberg's method of composition with twelve tones Britten's development took a new turn. The student of Britten's music will doubtless regard it as the inevitable step that follows from his essentially eclectic musical personality. The indebtedness of his idiom and style to the European tradition needs no re-appraisal: it is precisely his constructive awareness of earlier and more recent achievements which makes him a truly contemporary figure. Accepting the main principles of the



odecapronic method, he has not only enlarged certain features of his style but—and this is more important—consolidated his position as a European musician.

Against Schoenberg's "strenger Satz" Britten proposes to resort to the one-row mainly as a melodic model, instead of using it as a means of harmonic and formal organization. In fact the only common feature of Schoenberg's rows and Britten's "theme" is the display of twelve semitones in a certain fixed order. Britten's series is essentially a theme to be varied—formally and structurally the opera consists of fifteen variations upon a theme. Seen from a historic perspective, *The Turn of the Screw* is one of the works that represent the link between the principle of "perpetual variation" and the method of composition with twelve tones. His use of the "Grundgestalt" as the prototype of a continuously varied melodic configuration relates his music also to an earlier European tradition, and, beyond it, to Oriental music.

After the spoken Prologue the orchestra displays the "theme"<sup>1</sup>



whose notes, reduced into close position, give the row



Its characteristic features spring to the eye immediately: it resolves into two interlocked whole-tone scales, whose consecutively corresponding members are a fourth apart. Since the opera is a set of variations, its thematic unity is a foregone conclusion: but even so, the closely knit texture and condensed formal organization are nothing short of admirable.

Although the harmonic style is not dodecapronic—the formation of the chords is independent of the twelve-tone pattern—the particular succession of the row's notes is reflected in the tonal relationships of the

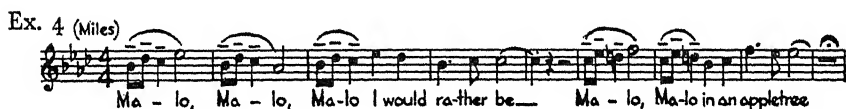
<sup>1</sup> The examples from Britten's opera are reproduced by permission of Boosey & Hawkes Limited.

scenes (i.e. variations). Also, there is a very subtle key-symbolism apparent in the A-flat of Quint's appearances and the F minor associated with Miss Jessel. Note, too, the psychological insight in using major—parallel minor to represent male—female.

Aside from the "theme" there are two further thematic constants in the music. The one is associated with a transplanted Yeats quotation



which is ominously foreshadowed in Quint's extended melisma at his first entry, and whose sinister significance gradually envelops the second act as it progresses to its tragic conclusion. The other is the wistful and heartbreakingly melancholic melody breaking out of Miles's tormented little soul.



Britten's great gifts are revealed at their best where he is called upon to describe the scene with some associatively picturesque music and to convey, at the same time, the continuity and growing tension of the dramatic action that exists, so to say, outside of the concrete, rational world represented on the stage. He succeeds in convincing us by his symphonic treatment that the two levels of experience are inevitably correlated. Thus in the 5th scene (4th variation) the traditional nursery-rhyme of the two children and its repetitions in ascending sequence; the piano lesson (scene 14, var. 13) where the dramatic tension of the situation is carried along on the shoulders of a fake period-piece in the form of a piano étude; or, perhaps the most remarkable, the scene of the bells (var. 9) leading to the quartet in which the four "real" characters give voice to their sentiments: all display an exceptional power of dramatic characterization achieved by intrinsically musical means. The concerted numbers—at the end of the first act for example—are more conventional but no less convincing.

Equally amazing is Britten's capacity to turn the limitation of resources into a virtue. The opera is scored for a chamber ensemble of solo

instrumentalists, with a consequent transparency of orchestral texture. Yet its sound is extremely varied, colorful, and incredibly rich in the circumstances. Nevertheless his—largely self-imposed—limitations are responsible for certain weaknesses, especially in the distribution of the vocal parts. Against four sopranos and a boy's treble there is one single tenor part, giving a precarious balance. Quint's part is obviously written for, and out of, a particular artist so that it will be extremely difficult to get the work adequately performed if that artist is not available. This objection applies, *a fortiori*, to the two children, Flora and Miles, who are given important parts to sing. The particular conditions of the English Opera Group are not easily reproduced, and it would be a pity if practical disadvantages would bar the wide recognition of this remarkable work.

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A new and wholly successful idea of the program committee was to devote the inaugural evening to the music of a great contemporary figure. This year it was dedicated to Bartók. His music was very happily supplemented with a chamber-music program, presenting two Hungarian composers of the generation that followed him.

László Lajtha, whose String Trio No. 3 (*Transylvanian Evenings*) was performed, was born in 1892, and may therefore be considered a younger contemporary of Bartók. Their spheres of action, too, covered much the same ground: Lajtha, apart from his creative work, is an eminent folklorist and teacher. His early compositions show a wide interest in the new tendencies that prevailed in Europe at that time: in fact the daring and thoroughness of his extremist experiments astounded even Bartók, who was certainly not a respecter of conventions. The favored medium of his pre-World War I music is the piano: in emulating the idioms of Liszt and Ravel, his writing for the instrument displays the same penchant for excesses as his harmonic idiom. Of folk-music influences there is no sign in the music of this period, and even his inter-war compositions, which could be divided into two style-periods, show little evidence of it—excepting, of course, his folksong arrangements. In his String Trio No. 1 (*Serenade*) he did resort to traditional melodies, but, in the first place, they are not of the type that is now accepted as folk music (i.e. surviving among the peasant population), and in the second place, their function is largely a descriptive one, since their occurrence depends on an implied program.

His French sympathies are fully revealed in the earlier works of this

period which constitute his "second manner." Their main distinguishing feature is purely objective: with very few exceptions they are all written for chamber combinations. He shows great concern for clearness of texture, discernment for harmonic progressions in which coloristic considerations are no less important than their functional implications, and an increasing preoccupation with counterpoint as a means of musical organization. Although much less extravagant than in his music of the previous period, his harmony is still aggressive. But while the formidable chordal structures of his previous music were subject to little else than emotional impulses, now the chord-formations are increasingly dominated by the tension of contrapuntal forces. His formal schemes indicate an aversion for the German way of musical thinking: instead of sonata schemes, he resorts to the Baroque "airs," "rondeaux," "strophes" of Latin origin, where the structural outlines are always clearly perceptible. In addition, his scrupulously precise and appropriate instrumental writing, which, however difficult at first sight, will never impose excessive demands on the player, also indicates the extent to which he identifies himself with French taste and logic. In some respects he reminds one of Roussel: both possess a fastidiousness that is as selective of the ideas as of the means to express them; the style of both is "neo-Classical" without the formal rigidity and depersonalized attitude implied in the revival; and both succeeded in combining the vertical and horizontal elements of their idiom in a satisfactorily personal manner.

The change of style in Lajtha's later music of the inter-war years involved a gradual but decisive assertion of melodic values—melodic, that is, in the conventional sense in which the *cantabile* element is stressed. The chromatic inflexions give way to a more diatonic progression which is also reflected in the harmonic scaffolding, where the possibilities of the common chord are reconsidered. The period is further distinguished by the emergence of a symphonic style; this tendency is continued in the large-scale orchestral works which dominate his post-World War II period. He resorts now to folk-music elements, mainly in the form of allusive quotations but without any open programmatic intention. Of his six symphonies four belong to this latest phase, which includes, among others, also a comic opera on a libretto by Salvador de Madariaga, two Masses, a Magnificat, and four string quartets in addition to six composed previously.

The String Trio No. 3, although written in 1945, is a transitional work. The confined range of its medium, the characteristically idiomatic writing, and the intimate nature of the music itself refer to his second

manner, while its simple and pellucid harmonic language, ambitious architectural layout, and above all its sustained continuity of melodic invention place it among the works of his "symphonic manner." One is inclined to think, in fact, that Lajtha has here slightly overtaxed the relatively slender resources of this combination, nor do the extremely generous dimensions of the four movements constitute gain. The transitional character of the work is shown, further, in certain passages of the music that bear surprisingly obvious Bartókian imprints: the third movement, for instance, is unthinkable without Bartók's later quartets, especially the Fourth.

Sándor Veress (born 1907) belongs to the generation that has followed Bartók: the period that saw the formation of his musical personality saw also the much discussed issue of new Hungarian music an accomplished fact. The advantages of his position were obvious: Veress was spared the efforts to reconcile the peculiar musical traditions of his country with the much more advanced European traditions. But its dangers were considerable, if not immediately apparent: in the circumstances it was easy—even inevitable—to identify Bartók with European progress and Kodály with Hungarian revival. That Veress succeeded in asserting his stylistic independence is due, paradoxically, to his direct contact with folk music (he assisted Bartók and Kodály in their investigations and undertook collecting expeditions on his own), which enabled him to draw his own conclusions, and to his readiness to consider progressive European tendencies following the example of Bartók, but, understandably, taking the latter's achievements for granted. The influence of folk music is recognized in his melodic style: the melismatic decorations of his slow movements, as well as the frequent Phrygian turns (a characteristic "fingerprint" of Veress) of his music derive from a certain type of Hungarian folk music. This is also the source of his remarkably free and seemingly irregular rhythmic patterns; but here, some of the credit must go to Stravinsky. Bartók, and to a lesser extent Hindemith, taught him the advantages of counterpoint as a means of organizing and controlling these newly released energies. Among his early works his cycle of three sonatinas, for various combinations, are the most interesting in showing his complete command of neo-Classic phraseology and technique. The subtle thematic and melodic relationships connecting the movements, the vital importance of contrapuntal treatment and forms, and the highly individual melodic inspiration of his two string quartets show a convincingly personal contribution to the problem of reconciling traditional forms with contemporary thought. His personal voice attained maturity in his subsequent works, which also indicate his

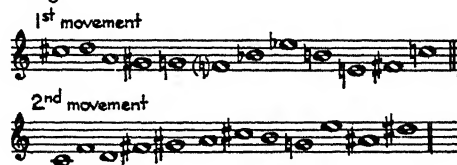
consciousness of national traditions. The most striking example of it is his Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, which I have no hesitation in regarding as one of the outstanding violin concertos of recent times, comparable only to Bartók's and Alban Berg's in its originality of approach and emotional power.

His musical development entered a new phase after he took up domicile in Switzerland in 1949. The European accents of his language have obviously become stronger: hitherto antagonistic to Schoenbergian influences, he is now coming to terms with the method of composing with twelve tones. At the same time his conception of harmony — which had already begun to show some significant developments in his String Quartet No. 2—has become more consciously defined. During this period a number of major works appeared, including *Hommage à Paul Klee*, Fantasies for 2 Pianos and String Orchestra; Concerto for Piano, Strings and Percussion; Sonata for Orchestra; and the *Sinfonia Minneapolitana* written for the 50-Year Jubilee of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra.

The String Trio No. 2, his latest work, was finished shortly before its first performance at the Venice Festival. There are two movements: the first slow and melodious, and the second fast and dynamic. Contrapuntal treatment predominates: the extraordinary transparency of its consistently polyphonic writing derives partly from his perfect command of technical resources and partly from the significance of his ideas themselves. The harmonic idiom is closely related to the melodic style, and their correlation shows a possible reconciliation of a new conception of harmonic organization with the horizontal (melodic) principles of the dodecaphonic method. Apart from relying on the latter almost exclusively as a means of melodic construction, he uses it in a very free and individual manner; one that academic dodecaphonists might easily condemn as eclectic.

No exception could be taken to the fractional use of the row<sup>2</sup>

Ex. 5



<sup>2</sup> The examples from the Veress Trio are printed by permission of Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, Milan.

as for instance in the cadenza-like transitional passage that appears also at the conclusion of the first movement:

Ex. 6 Quasi improvvisando, semplice, poco rubato



But the insertion of "free" phrases and motifs in dodecaphonic style as in the principal theme of the second movement

Ex. 7



or the interpolation of entirely non-dodecaphonic sections, as in the middle part of the first movement, must be regarded as wholly new departures. The novelty of the harmonic scheme consists in the substitution of the interval of fourth and fifth for the third as the basis of chord building, if not always of chord progression. Veress has been feeling his way in this direction for some time now, and the interim conclusions of this harmonic organization were put to test in the String Quartet No. 2. On this "diatonic" phase followed a more advanced "chromatic" phase represented in this String Trio, where the scope of the quartal chord-formations is enlarged by the inclusion of altered notes. It is, of course, precisely this extension that corresponds to the melodic propositions of the dodecaphonic method. Yet the scheme would admit triadic formations as well, provided they are divested of their "functional" associations. But the most significant feature of this new harmonic idiom is the fact that it is the outcome, not of theoretical considerations, but of his folk-music experience. Folk music, too, is at the root of the second movement's intense driving force (*cf.* Ex. 7 with its Bulgarian accents). The resources of the string instruments are fully exploited: apart from the usual devices there is strikingly successful three-part writing in the non-dodecaphonic middle section of the first movement, which consists in simultaneous legato and pizzicato on two open strings as *ostinato* accompaniment to melodic movement on the third, and tapping with the fingers on the back of the instruments in the second movement. Compelling and immediately accessible, this string trio is a masterpiece for all its modest dimen-

sions: it shows, too, the historic importance of Veress's contribution, which consists in his having reconciled contemporary Europe with the inheritance of his native soil in a convincingly personal mode of expression, at its most consummate to date.

JOHN S. WEISSMANN



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

WILLIAM SCHUMAN. By *Flora Rheta Schreiber* and *Vincent Persichetti*. (G. Schirmer, Inc., New York, 1954. Pp. 139.)

SAMUEL BARBER. By *Nathan Broder*. (G. Schirmer, Inc., New York, 1954. Pp. 111.)

These two books are much alike in format and in the structure of their contents. Both fall into two parts, the first biographical and the second critical, and both are richly illustrated with photographs and musical quotations. The biographical sections give one a fairly complete idea of the man, the environment that shaped him, and the shape that he has himself imposed upon his surroundings. The critical sections avoid the common error of providing a generalized discussion of stylistic traits; key works are dealt with in detail and all the other significant works of each composer are touched upon illuminatingly.

The best section in either book is Persichetti's on the music of Schuman. This is a prime example of an extremely rare thing: musical analysis inspired by a love of music. Persichetti can pick a score to pieces with an enthusiasm, energy, and raciness like that of Schuman's music itself. He synthesizes as he dissects; his reader puts his book down wanting to know more about the work in hand and about the whole lovely phenomenon of music of which it is a part. Persichetti's contribution is an eloquent if unintentional commentary on something to which Miss Schreiber devotes much attention—Schuman's ideas about the teaching of music. Persichetti teaches at the Juilliard, of which Schuman is president, and if Schuman's Juilliard is like that, it must be an inspiring place indeed.

Miss Schreiber's biography provides a clear, accurate picture of Schuman's development—his middle-class New York background, his early dalliance with Tin Pan Alley, his sudden awakening to the values of serious music, his late, furiously eager pursuit of education, and his rather sudden rise from teaching at Sarah Lawrence College to his post as director of publication at Schirmer's and finally to his extremely influen-

tial presidency on Claremont Avenue. This section is written with great warmth and sympathy, not infrequently with too much of both. Its style is rather like that of a "profile" for a women's magazine:

In the household of William and Frances Schuman in New Rochelle any morning can be felt the excitement with which Schuman gets ready for a new day. Each day for him must somehow be a "great" day exuberantly lived—each day must be all its hours.

That sort of thing can be a trifle embarrassing.

William Schuman has written an opera on *Casey at the Bat*. Samuel Barber has never written an opera, but he has composed a song cycle on poems that medieval Irish monks jotted surreptitiously on the margins of the ecclesiastical manuscripts they were copying. Schuman, in other words, erupts from modern urban life, while Barber is an aristocrat who comes of an old American family and has always exercised the aristocrat's privilege to conform or experiment. He has conformed a good bit of the time, but no one can count on him to do so; consequently his list of works, as analyzed by Nathan Broder, exhibits a considerable range of forms, ideas, and shifts of idiom. His range, in fact, is greater than Schuman's, but by the same token his work has less consistency, and it certainly is much lower in its dynamic drive.

Broder's analyses touch upon practically the whole of Barber's output—his two symphonies, two *Essays*, and other works for orchestra, his three concertos, two sonatas, and his string quartets, as well as his considerable list of songs, choral works, and short instrumental pieces. These analyses are interesting and valuable but are less detailed than Persichetti's.

The biographical story as Broder tells it is simple. Barber was the fair-haired boy of the Curtis Institute. He has gone to Europe and he has come back again, and he has won many prizes and awards. He is one of the few serious composers in America who have been able to make a living out of composition; he has never had to teach or edit or do any of the other chores to which most contemporary composers are driven by economic necessity.

Broder's biography draws heavily upon Barber's letters, for Barber writes the best letters of any American composer. His literary style is absolutely brilliant. One trusts he will some day write his memoirs, but failing that, a complete edition of his correspondence ought to be published. Such a book would be a fascinating document of the musical life in our time.

ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

CATALOGUE CRITIQUE ET DESCRIPTIF DES IMPRIMÉS DE MUSIQUE DES XVI<sup>e</sup> ET XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES CONSERVÉS DANS LES BIBLIOTHÈQUES SUÉDOISES; CATALOGUE CRITIQUE ET DESCRIPTIF DES OUVRAGES THÉORIQUES SUR LA MUSIQUE IMPRIMÉS AU XVI<sup>e</sup> ET AU XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES ET CONSERVÉS DANS LES BIBLIOTHÈQUES SUÉDOISES. By *Ake Davidsson*. (Upsala, 1952, 1953. Pp. 471, 83.)

The author of the volumes under consideration, Åke Davidsson, published in 1951 Vols. 2 and 3 of the catalogue of 16th- and 17th-century music prints preserved at the University Library of Upsala. With those volumes Davidsson brought to completion a project begun in 1911 by Rafael Mitjana, whose aim was to disclose, in annotated and documented form, the riches of that historically exceptionally valuable collection. The two volumes were reviewed in these pages in April 1952. Since then Davidsson extended his attention and care to the holdings of old printed music owned by Swedish libraries other than that at Upsala, and the two volumes before us are a result of his recent labors. The larger of the two contains a repertory of music of the 16th and 17th centuries outside Upsala, while the smaller volume lists the theoretical works on music belonging to the same period, and preserved in all Swedish libraries including Upsala, since this part of the Upsala holdings had not been covered in the three volumes previously published. Thus, the two volumes most recently issued form, together with Mitjana's Vol. I and Davidsson's Vols. II and III of the Upsala catalogue, a well-nigh complete inventory of old prints, both of music and of theoretical literature, found in Swedish libraries. This in itself is a memorable achievement, which can be matched by very few nations, if any; and both Davidsson and the Swedish authorities and foundations that encouraged the undertaking and made it possible deserve the highest praise.

Like the Upsala catalogue, the two new volumes are a mine of bibliographical information for librarians and musicologists. Although the other Swedish libraries, quite understandably, are unable fully to compete with Upsala so far as early music prints are concerned, they too — and particularly the Royal Library and the Academy of Music at Stockholm — own an imposing quantity of prints of outstanding importance and rarity. Here again, as in Upsala, German editions of the Renaissance and early Baroque are especially conspicuous; this is not surprising if one considers the proximity and cultural ties of old standing between the two countries.

In his new catalogue of early music Davidsson has, on the whole, followed the system adopted in his Upsala volumes. There is, however,

an important difference: while the miscellaneous collections (anthologies), in the Upsala catalogue, are listed in chronological order according to date of publication, in a separate volume apart from the works of individual composers, both categories of prints are intermingled in the new catalogue, in which the anthologies are entered alphabetically according to title, interspersed with individual works listed according to author. As in the Upsala catalogue, the contents of a single miscellaneous collection are given, not in the order in which they appear in the original print, but in alphabetical order of composers' names and in alphabetical order of text incipits under each name; anonymous pieces are listed after those ascribed to definite composers, again in alphabetical order of text incipits. At the end of the third Upsala volume, an index of all compositions contained in the miscellaneous collections is appended. The new volume does not contain such an index; instead, cross-references to anthologies that include pieces ascribed to definite composers are to be found under the respective composers' names. In the case of composers represented in the anthologies with numerous works this means quite some digging if one is out to locate a particular piece. Here again, as suggested in our review of the Upsala catalogue, an alphabetical index of text incipits would have been of the greatest utility for research purposes.

So far as linguistic matters are concerned, the present writer, in his Upsala review, voiced certain reservations as to the forms of place names used in editorial annotations in that catalogue, and ventured the opinion that the French style in the catalogue, which is presented in that language, could have been improved upon. The new volumes seem to give support to these views. In the previous review exception was taken to the use—in editorial annotations of a book written in French—of forms such as "Mecheln," "Leuven," and "Antwerpen," and it was asserted that an absolute application of the principle of using consistently the forms customary in the linguistic groups to which the names belong results in a pedantic and purist practice. It strikes one as hardly less odd to read in the larger of the new volumes a sentence such as the following (No. 136): "*La description d'après [sic] l'exemplaire dans le British Museum à London*"; or to come across an expression like "*Les armes de Sachsen*" (No. 169); or to learn, in connection with No. 192, about an edition "imprimée à Venezia en 1591." (But then, as a matter of consistency, how about the surprising — and so eminently sensible — use of the form "Copenhague" in No. 159?) The style of the preface and other passages written in French betrays an unfamiliarity with the language chosen by the author; grammatical errors and unidiomatic expressions are frequent.

It will suffice to cite as an example a single sentence found on p. 146: "Presque tous les compositions anonymes sont composées de *Peter Meyer*." These are flaws that could easily have been removed by having the French text revised by a suitable editor. As for typographical imperfections, citations in Greek are often incorrectly rendered; e.g. the one in the title of No. 24, or of Nos. 31, 37, 86 of the catalogue of theoretical treatises. The title of the composition by Paminger in No. 91 should read "O profunditatem *divitiarum*"; in No. 264 the text should be "Or sus vous *dormés* trop"; the date in the title of No. 71 of the catalogue of treatises should be "MDLXXXI"; in the same volume, one of the two dates given in the reproduction of the title of No. 96 — MDLI or 1555 — must be incorrect.

These remarks may seem trifling when compared to the amount of work done by Davidsson and his splendid achievement in bringing the project to completion. They would not have been made at all had the standards set by the author himself not been of such high quality.

DRAGAN PLAMENAC

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONS OF HARMONY. By *Arnold Schoenberg*. (W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1954. Pp. 200.)

The late Arnold Schoenberg's final theoretical work, *Structural Functions of Harmony*, can be added to the growing list of important speculative writings on music in English, a list that already includes major works by Hindemith, Piston, Salzer, and Sessions. It belongs with these as the mature product of an outstanding, provocative contemporary composer and teacher; by the same token it must be separated from those glib products of the market place that deal only with statistical formulas and obsolescent patter.

As in his *Harmonielehre*, Schoenberg aims at relating 18th- and 19th-century chromatic practice to an underlying diatonic system. In part his procedure is a summation of earlier conclusions, in part it is a clarification of them, and in at least one important respect it is a departure from them. The bare elements of classification are "substitutes," "vagrant" and "roving" harmonies, the interchangeability of the major and minor modes, and, perhaps of greatest significance, "regions."

*Substitutes* refers to a limited number of chromatically altered diatonic degrees which Schoenberg regards as transplanted modal survivors.

In C major they are the "dorian" C-sharp as a replacement for C and similarly, F-sharp, G-sharp, and B-flat. From his readily challengeable historical-conceptual point of view these modifications form the beginnings of chromaticism. Their primary employment is to be found in the alteration of diatonic chords in order to produce "artificial dominants."

*Transformations* refers to a much larger group of altered chords, including artificial dominants, which acquire their precise shape through the influence of dominant and subdominant factors. For example, the Neapolitan chord is regarded as borrowed from the minor subdominant where it exists as a submediant chord. In brief, chordal relationships alone are called upon to systematize these alterations. Their common bond, and the essential feature that gives them meaning, is a discernible root relationship of the chord in which they appear to the diatonic steps of a key. Naturally it is not always a simple matter to establish this meaning, and as chromatic changes increase in number and extravagance the relationship diminishes to the vanishing point. Schoenberg cautions his readers: "Because they are so remote it is . . . difficult to introduce the Neapolitans on I, IV, and V"; also "Transformation does not change the degree, but some products of it do seem *irreconcilably remote*." He is talking here solely of harmonic function. Hence, if some of the examples that seem musically convincing are questioned or rejected by the author, it is solely because they do not fulfill the requirement of a demonstrable relationship to a diatonic degree. A reader might ask, "Why were these salvageable examples not provided with an alternative correct analysis, even though it might be irrelevant to the subject under discussion?" On the other hand, some examples that correctly fulfill the demands of root identification with a diatonic degree seem easily discardable, as is pointed out on occasion by Schoenberg. It would seem that correct syntax, as here defined, is no unfailing guarantor of elementary musical value.

*Vagrant* harmonies are those that seem to be capable of defying a clear identification with a diatonic root, partly because of their constitution, and partly because they may represent more than one root. These are chiefly the augmented triad, the chord of the augmented sixth, and the diminished seventh chord. When these and simpler chords appear in succession under conditions where no clear affiliation with diatonic roots is in evidence, they are called *roving* harmonies. Schoenberg writes, "Roving harmony need not contain extravagant chords. Even simple triads and dominant seventh chords may fail to express a tonality." The term "roving" is applied to those passages usually of a transitional

nature in which no succession of three chords can unmistakably express a region or a tonality.

This lavish supply of chords, classified as substitutes, transformations, vagrants, and modal interchanges (which are self evident in nature), heavily ballasted with roots, can be called upon to serve a tonal center through the medium of *Regions*. Schoenberg's theory of the regions rests on the premise that just as many chords, diatonic and chromatic, may be called upon to express a key, so, on a higher level of organization, a great many keys, at times completely established, at others only partially so, may be called upon to express a broad tonal center. He writes, "... every digression from the tonic is considered to be still within the tonality whether directly . . . or remotely related . . . there is only *one tonality* in a piece, and every segment formerly considered as another tonality is only a region, a harmonic contrast within that tonality." As generally used, the term tonality is unfortunately vague in meaning. If we accept it to stand for the sum of all relationships, modulatory or simply digressive, that serve a given "key of the piece" or tonal center, a clear hierarchy of terms can be established. If, however, we consider it to be the equivalent of key, as Schoenberg and others do, it becomes necessary to coin a new term applicable to the more abstract relationships. In this case the word is *monotonicity*. It "includes modulation — movement towards another mode and even establishment of that mode. But it considers these deviations as regions of the tonality, subordinate to the central power of a tonic." Tonality, in one of its definitions, means precisely the same thing.

A "Chart of the Regions" is an attempt to stabilize graphically the relationship to a major tonic key of many other keys or regions. All told, 34 keys are represented, some enharmonically; but because certain keys, aside from their enharmonic forms, are capable of two kinds of relationship, a grand total of forty-three kindred keys appear in the chart. A similar chart for a minor tonal center depicts a smaller family of only sixteen keys. In establishing an order of relationship, Schoenberg has departed from the hoary circle of fifths, which he had used in the *Harmonielehre*, although he does not renounce it. Aside from the super-tonic region, the closest regions are those whose tonic degrees lie a perfect fifth or a diatonic third from the tonal center. The more remote relationships are formed by chromatic thirds, the fifths of thirds, the thirds of fifths, and the thirds of thirds. Thus the mediant and submediant degrees become important agents, along with the perfect fifth, in fixing the kinship of regions. For example, the key or region of F-flat major is

related to the parent key of C major as the flatted minor submediant's major submediant, formularized as  $^b\text{smSM}$ .

In order to put into practice the elements of his theory, Schoenberg asks the student, in the first part of the book, to construct four-part exercises following a lavish number of models. As in the *Harmonielehre*, these are abstract harmonic progressions, purposefully removed from the scene of everyday music by their rhythmic torpor and their lack of thematic reference. It is this type of practice that is preferred to melodic harmonization, which is "too difficult," and thorough-bass exercises, which are "too easy." The student who undertakes this kind of study must obviously have had previous training, at least enough to be able to read the statement, ". . . there is a difference between the bass of a chord and its root," and realize that it is not quite correct. The models, despite the self-imposed restrictions, often reveal, as might be expected, a sensitivity to subtle nuance and a chromatic agility that go far beyond the points to be demonstrated, and in fact often invoke explanations somewhat at variance with those provided by the author. In any event such highly fluent examples must represent a challenge and a goad to even the best equipped of students.

In the second part of the book the demonstration takes the form of a series of analyses of selected works which range from Bach to Mahler, Reger, and early Schoenberg, with Beethoven, Brahms, and Mozart the most frequently cited. In close to a hundred examples, most of them subdivided, Schoenberg puts his theory to the test. Anyone who has sought for illustrative excerpts from the literature of music must be impressed by the number, variety, cogency, and challenge of those that appear here.

With exemplary candor Schoenberg points out certain limitations in his theory. The first has to do with its inapplicability to certain contemporary practices, notably those rooted in his own school. He writes "My school . . . does not aim at the establishment of tonality, yet does not exclude it entirely." And later, discussing his method of composition he writes, "But as such progressions do not derive from roots, harmony is not under discussion and evaluation of structural functions cannot be considered." In this respect, that it does not embrace contemporary or, in fact, pre-Bach practices, it is to be differentiated from Salzer's extension of Heinrich Schenker's analytical system, and equally from Hindemith's approach to music, for both of these men are much concerned with reconciling the styles of many periods. In the case of Hindemith, Schoenberg, without naming him, seems to reject him as a composer along with others who do not subscribe to the "Method of Composing



with Twelve Tones." Less veiled is his rejection of Hindemith as a theorist when, in voicing the hope that twelve-tone music will one day be analyzable, he writes, "But it is improbable that the quality of sharpness or mildness of dissonances . . . is the appropriate foundation for a theory which explores, explains and teaches."

The second limitation is concerned with bothersome problems posed by the concept of roving and vagrant harmonies. "It should not be overlooked that harmonies with multiple meaning — the 'vagrants' — may occasionally proceed in conflict with the theory of root progressions. This is one of the shortcomings of every theory — and this theory cannot claim to be an exception; no theory can exclude everything that is wrong, poor, or even detestable, or include everything that is right, good, or beautiful." Schoenberg here seems to be offering an apologia for his theory as well as a criticism of the presumed errant ways of certain chords.

It is apparent throughout *Structural Functions* that it contains much that is non-objective. It is just as apparent that Schoenberg found many things of direct value to him as a composer in the music of the past by use of the methods therein described. One is tempted, therefore, to recommend the work as a loosely organized record of a prominent composer's personal, searching observations on composition, rather than to discuss it as a rigorous theory of music. Yet, because the material is presented as a textbook designed for the training of the young composer, certain questions can be raised fairly in connection with the general tenor of the book as well as with specific points.

What does Schoenberg mean by "structural functions?" He means solely the way in which the mechanically extracted roots of chords or the often vaguely determined tonic steps of regions are identified with degrees of the underlying diatonic scale. Those who have long since recognized the significance of linear and rhythmic factors in giving shape, meaning, or function to the chordal details of music will find much to quarrel with in Schoenberg's exclusive reliance on the theory of inversions. And, in fact, the fatal weakness of this approach is revealed in those passages from the literature of music that are analyzed in this book as "roving" simply because the putative roots of the successive chords have no clear reference to a tonal center. Yet, all of these passages have a quality of purposefulness that reduces the terms roving and vagrant to the rank of misnomers. However, the functions in these cases are discussible essentially as contrapuntal and rhythmic manipulation; preoccupation with the theory of roots creates only confusion by leading us away from the heart of the matter.

Of measures 11-12 in the 20th Variation of Beethoven's Diabelli set, Schoenberg writes, "It must not be overlooked that the harmony besides providing structural advantages, is also capable of producing stimulating means of expression. Under such uncontrollable circumstances analysis has to resign in favour of faithful confidence in the thinking of a great composer." All harmony, we would hope, has both structural and expressive values. Ironically enough, in this variation the measures in question reveal their function only when primary consideration is given to the expressive intent of the variation and the way in which this aim affects the texture and thematic reference of the details. Here again the roots of the successive chords are not dependable guides to an understanding of functions.

The theory of the regions invites close examination. The most serious shortcoming is the fixed nature of the relationships. Why, for example, should the key or region of B-flat major be fixed in its relation to the tonic key, C major, as the major dominant of the lowered major mediant (i.e. C major to E-flat major to B-flat major)? It certainly is not the simplest way in which the two areas may be related, for B-flat stands directly in relation to C as its lowered seventh step. In any event, it is in this sense that the seventh step appears in the opening measures of both the *Waldstein Sonata* and Opus 31, No. 1. Yet both passages are "registered" (Schoenberg's term) in the relationship of <sup>b</sup>MD, or the lowered major mediant's dominant. The region of the lowered major mediant is nowhere in evidence in these excerpts, let alone its dominant. Such an analysis contributes little to our understanding of the pieces, and tends to obscure rather than clarify the meaning of tonality, or, if you will, monotonicity.

So far as tonality is concerned, it can be seriously disputed that its unity is proved by attempting to establish a relationship between every region or key in a composition and its tonal center. An interesting point arises in the case of Schoenberg's analysis of Mozart's *Voi, che sapete*. In the middle section, which is essentially in the region of the dominant, F, Mozart introduces A-flat major. The analyst who starts by regarding this episode as an element in the unfolding of the F region will be well on the way towards fulfillment of his responsibilities to both Mozart and the nature of tonality. If, as in this book, however, it is "registered" as the dominant of the lowered major mediant of B-flat major, it is conceivable that such an analysis might lead to a comment such as the following, which appears as a footnote: "The page, Cherubino, accompanies himself and is also the author of the poem. Has he not also composed the music? Did not Mozart by such extravagant features

hint at Cherubino's professional imperfections?" Extravagance and imperfection, here, refer more cogently to the analysis than to the music.

Finally, the analyst who recognizes the minuscule functional value of the passing tone, the neighbor, and the arpeggio in melodies should have no grave difficulties in finding similar linear values as a constructive feature of chord successions, and on a higher level, as a definitive force in establishing the relationship of keys and regions. These linear factors are patently as significant in forming a concept of tonality as are factors of chord construction and root relationship. A theoretical system that fails to recognize this dual nature of harmony must come to grief before the actual facts of musical composition. Such would seem to be the case here.

WILLIAM J. MITCHELL

THE MUSIC OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY ITALY. *Nino Pirrotta*, ed.  
(American Institute of Musicology, Amsterdam, 1954. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 8. Pp. 80.)

In keeping with its plan to bring to light the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the American Institute of Musicology has recently issued the first of a projected series of five volumes which contains the music of the Italian *trecento* transcribed into modern notation. That Nino Pirrotta was chosen to undertake this task adds to the value of the publication, for Dr. Pirrotta, Director of the Music Library of S. Cecilia in Rome, is eminently qualified to bring this work to a successful conclusion.

The American Institute of Musicology, formerly of Rome and now of Amsterdam, is to be commended on the attractive appearance of this publication; the large format, 13¼ x 9 inches, makes the music more readily accessible to the reader. Happily, it is also uncluttered with editorial additions and emendations. In several instances three versions of the same composition from different codices are aligned vertically so that the reader may at a glance observe the various notational and rhythmical differences encountered by the transcriber. To my mind this system is superior to the older system, which sends the interested reader scurrying to the appendix. Of particular interest is the inclusion of a new member of the Florentine school, Bartholus, who is represented by one composition—a Credo for two voices. This composition was formerly attributed

to Bartolino da Padova and published with that attribution in *Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova* by the late Guillaume de Van.

I do not hesitate to endorse Pirrotta's transcriptions, for though many of the original manuscripts were not available to me, I know from past experience that he scrupulously studies every note before it is committed to paper.

When the American Institute of Musicology announced its intention to publish the entire body of Italian *trecento* music, it stated in *Musica Disciplina*, IV (1950), p. 215, that the first volume would contain the music of the Florentine composers, namely, Giovanni, Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato, Andrea B. Corsini, Paolo *tenorista*, and A. Stefani. Apparently, a change of plan took place, for the first volume contains the music of only Bartholus, Giovanni, and Gherardello. If a second part to Volume I is in the making, this explanation should have appeared in the first issue.

On the debit side of the ledger this volume contains many errors—some slight, others of major importance. These are enumerated below according to page number.

Table of Contents, No. 16 should read "Sedendo all'ombra."

Table of Contents, No. 21 and 22 should be reversed. The Gloria is on page 53.

Table of Contents, No. 29 should read "Per prender cacciagion."

Foreword, page I, last paragraph: Villani does not mention Jacopo da Bologna (or Jacobus de Bonania, as it appears in the context). The passage reads,<sup>1</sup> "Nam cum Mastini della Scala Tyranni atria quaestus gratia frequentaret et cum Bononiensi artis musicae peritissimo . . ."

Page III, paragraph on the *caccia*: Of the 26 examples of *cacce* that have survived, five have no *ritornello*.

Page IV, under List of Compositions: only the cantus of *La bella stella* is preserved in FC.

Page V, No. 28 should read *L'aquila bella*.

Page VII, in bold print reads, "Texts composed by Johannes de Florentia." This is obviously an error. It should read, "Texts set to music by Johannes de Florentia." The same observation applies to Page IX.

There are a number of misspellings which, unfortunately, are bound to occur when a book in English is printed in a non-English-speaking country, but these will not be singled out since the meaning is quite clear. However, I do believe that the list of compositions on pages IV and V should have included the folio numbers as well as the *sigla*. It is hoped that more attention is given to proof-reading in the forthcoming volumes.

<sup>1</sup> In his *Liber de origine civitatis florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*.

I recently<sup>2</sup> had occasion to remark that

The catalog of Italian music of the early Renaissance is by no means complete. Much of the music that has been preserved from this period (which produced hundreds of compositions known as madrigals, *cacce*, and *ballate*) is yet to be transcribed. When all this music is available in modern notation, we shall be better prepared to study and evaluate the contribution of the early Italian composers.

Now that the first of a series containing the music of 14th-century Italy has appeared, its availability serves notice that what I had stated in a moment of wishful thinking will soon become a reality.

W. THOMAS MARROCCO

<sup>2</sup> *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna*, University of California Press, 1954.

## REVIEWS OF RECORDS

JOHANN CHRISTOPH BACH: *Sarabande duodecies variata*; *Aria Eberliniana pro dormente Camillo, variata*. BUXTEHUDE: *La Capricciosa, partite diverse sopra una aria d'inventione*. Finn Viderø, harpsichord. 12" LP. Haydn HSL 3069.

Finn Viderø groups together in this recording three late 17th-century cycles of harpsichord variations which he believes must have served as models for J. S. Bach's *Goldberg Variations*. He suggests his reasons briefly on the reverse of the record envelope: several structural similarities and the specification "pro dormente Camillo" seen in the title of the *Eberliniana Variations*. Most of the similarities to which he calls attention are palpable enough and have been noticed before, but his conclusion needs qualification. Rather than indicating an influence of one specific work upon another, these similarities are in most cases hardly more than reappearances of basic formulas used over and over again in the Baroque age: the descending tetrachord, for example, archetype of the chaconne bass, seen at the beginning of Johann Christoph Bach's *Sarabande* and again in the *Goldberg Variations*; and the cadential pattern used at the midpoint and at the end in the themes of both works. The situation is the same in the case of the assumed influence of the boldly chromatic variation (No. 9) of the *Eberliniana* series upon No. 25 of the *Goldberg Variations*: here again are two instances of a general usage, and there is no reason for pairing these two in distinction from the variation literature at large. All three of the cycles of this recording, for example, include chromatic variations, those of the *Eberliniana* and *La Capricciosa* sets very similar to the widely known sixth variation in Froberger's suite *Auf die Mayerin*. J. S. Bach's extraordinary example hardly resembles any one of them more closely than the others, but again, in this usage too, summarizes the entire tradition of the variation in the Baroque age.

A striking similarity relates Buxtehude's set and the *Goldberg Variations*: the first half of the *Aria d'Inventione detta la Capricciosa* is very nearly identical with one of the tunes added by Bach in the quodlibet

(variation 30) of his series, and in both cases the key is G. At a certain stage of melodic elaboration (partita 21) Buxtehude's theme is note for note the same throughout a large segment. This is the tune identified as the popular song *Kraut und Rüben* in a report attributed to Bach's pupil, Kittel, an identification universally accepted before the recent discovery of Buxtehude's clavier works. Kittel's information seems convincing: he identifies also the other tune added in the quodlibet as a popular song and quotes texts that fit both tunes perfectly. And to judge from Forkel's well known description of the Bach family's quodlibets, a popular song is more to be expected as material than an aria or keyboard variations. But if the tune in the quodlibet is indeed *Kraut und Rüben*, it is not necessary to conclude as Viderø does that Bach was acquainted with Buxtehude's variations. As a possible explanation of the remarkable likeness, Bangert, the editor of Buxtehude's clavier works, suggests that variants of this tune are found among the popular songs of several localities, naming a Danish version; perhaps this condition existed already at the end of the 17th century.

What Viderø calls "the virtuosity of the variation technique" seen in the *La Capricciosa Variations* could have provided something of a model for Bach in case he did know them. The thirty-two *partite* cover a range of musical expression that is not usual in the patterned variations of the 17th century. Added to the succession of highly varied and imaginative patterns of figuration are a variation *en musette*, another exploiting an *ostinato* figure in the top voice, and another venturing structural dislocation or elongation of the theme (partita 25). In one characteristic, however, they show an emphatic contrast to Bach's, namely in the very unsystematic sequence of the *partite*; not only is there no such complicated architecture as in Bach's, but there is not even a steady accumulation of complexity in the figurative patterns. Possibly a whimsical disposition was considered fitting for *La Capricciosa*.

Finn Viderø gives excellent performances of these pieces. His registrations unfailingly represent the structures of the music, pairings of variations and correspondences of parts. Some will feel that the full registration at the beginning of the *Eberliniana Variations* is continued too long—or rather begun too early, for the theme itself requires quieter registration. Mr. Viderø's notes offer useful information, including detailed lists of most registrations used and of the published sources of the pieces recorded. The recording itself has been excellently manufactured.

EDWIN HANLEY

BERLIOZ: *L'Enfance du Christ*, Opus 25. Mary Davenport, contralto; Martial Singher, baritone; Leopold Simoneau, tenor; Donald Gramm, bass; The Choral Art Society, dir. William Jonson; The Little Orchestra Society, cond. Thomas Scherman. 2 12" LP. Columbia SL-199.

*La Fuite en Egypte*, which became the second part of Berlioz's "sacred trilogy," was an extremely successful work. The public and the press received it enthusiastically, Heine withdrew his earlier adverse criticism of the composer, and the young Brahms came to admire it as Berlioz's finest achievement. The subject called for a pastoral atmosphere and a predominantly melodious treatment; it offered relatively little outlet to Berlioz's unsuppressible desire for effect and novelty. But more important was the stylistic perfection of the music, and its surpassing beauty. In the complete oratorio, *La Fuite en Egypte* is surrounded by elements of passion and dramatic suspense, not to mention a rather weak conclusion. But the original simplicity is not lost in the larger canvas: it runs through the whole and persists as a dominant mood, the emotional core of an expanded work still remarkable for its consistency and ease. Indeed, the uniform fluency of the oratorio has a bearing on Berlioz's whole musical personality, for it permits no doubt as to his complete command of technique in the service of a clearly conceived personal idiom. The peculiarities that are conspicuous elsewhere are evidently not miscalculations taking on their delectable flavor by chance, but are every one of them planned to sound as they do — constituents of a style that long remained unfamiliar because of its great distinctiveness and originality. Traditional harmonic functions and melodic patterns had simply ceased to be attractive, and interest was found instead in alterations of expected chordal sequences and in piquant tone-color or suggestive melody. The individuality of composers became pronounced, and Berlioz, who especially disliked the obvious, often estranged his audience in his endeavor to be different and interesting. The wilful line of the ranging ariosos and recitatives of *L'Enfance du Christ* is not the product of pieced-together sections, each individually conceived. It was heard as a whole, and the stubbornness of certain turns was contrived.

Berlioz's achievement in vocal melody doubtless springs from the traditional word-dominated arioso of French opera — his instrumental melody is much more symmetrical and less saturated in color — and his mastery of vocal expression is so consummate that only shameful neglect could have produced the one-sided view that he was essentially an innovator in instrumentation. The set numbers of the oratorio are powerful and flexible, freely adapting themselves to the sense of the text



while still retaining the climactic and formal advantage of musical repetition. And the recitatives approach the same mean from the opposite direction; dramatic and infused with lyrical passion, they make up not a polar contrast to the arias and duets, but a companion of similar expressiveness.

*L'Enfance du Christ* is especially successful in producing a unified impression that is at the same time both idyllic and intense, but there are other strong emotions present, notably Herod's wild and desperate determination to massacre the new-born, and the pleading and imploring of the refugees in their search for shelter at Saïs — two moments as vivid and gripping as any in opera. The restrained though telling instrumentation appropriately reinforces the basic pastoral vein of the oratorio, but again there are other moods present: a *Marche Nocturne* and a *Danse Cabalistique* briefly reveal the notorious orchestral wizard of the supernatural and remind us of the vast versatility of his genius.

Two complete recordings (Vox and Columbia) of *L'Enfance du Christ* are an unexpected luxury for which we can thank the current Berlioz boom. Accuracy demands, however, that we describe the present version as nearly complete, for, all the expense of producing it notwithstanding, a paltry handful of measures is cut out. Even the legend on the album, "Released in honor of The American Berlioz Society, Inc.," which promises different ideals, could not stay the knife. But by way of compensation, somebody has been able to satisfy his need for musical expression — and improving on Berlioz is no mean accomplishment.

The Columbia recording features a much more dramatic performance than the Vox version, although the desire for "effect" becomes an evil demon. To secure an impression of distant angels, the accompanying organ is played very softly, but the straightforward Vox performance is much more successful with its louder organ — the angels become distant by contrast. The same desire for effect leads to unwarranted liberties in tempo and in dynamics, and it is also responsible for the excessive ritardandos and for the prolongation of the chorus's final chord in *L'Adieu des Bergers*. Here Berlioz wanted the chorus to be silent and the concluding wind passage to sound alone, but the rests in the score that clearly convey his intention are disregarded. It is certainly time that our conductors outgrew this kind of tampering.

EDWARD ARTHUR LIPPMAN

HONEGGER: *Symphony No. 2 for String Orchestra*. RIVIER: *Symphony No. 2 for String Orchestra*. M-G-M String Orchestra, cond. Izler Solomon. 12" LP. M-G-M E 3104.

HONEGGER: *Symphony No. 2 for String Orchestra*. HUNTER JOHNSON: *Concerto for Piano and Chamber Orchestra*. John Kirkpatrick, piano; Rochester Chamber Orchestra, cond. Robert Hull. 12" LP. Concert Hall 1189.

There is little doubt in my mind that this, like all the rest of Honegger's symphonies after the first, is a *symphonie à clef*. Let me say first that it is a strong, serious, and noble work, that it has power and beauty, and that it needs no "program" to help impress itself upon the listener. There is an important message in the score itself. But there are also things in the score that are difficult to understand and impossible to explain unless some extra-musical justification can be made.

The problems are in the third movement. What are we to make of this?<sup>1</sup>

Ex. I Vivace, non troppo

Vln. I

Vln. II

Va. Vc. Bass

etc.

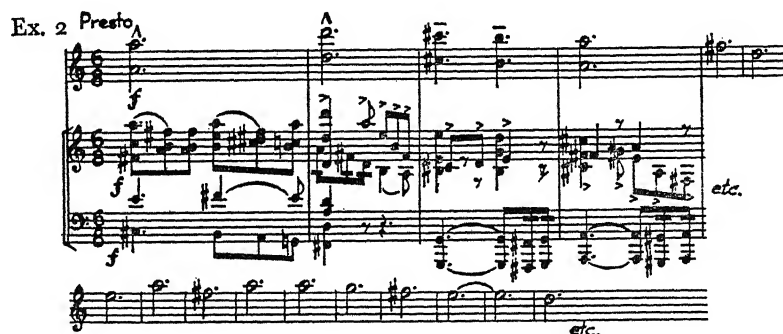
The question is not why are they playing in C-sharp, D, and F-sharp but what is that little folk-like tune in the first violins doing there at all? Thirteen measures later the firsts are involved with new material in B accompanied by the seconds and violas in B and A-flat. Before long, Honegger will present quite a bit of new matter and subject it to thorough treatment but this little folksong—if it is a folksong—is just barely

<sup>1</sup> Music examples from Honegger's *Symphonie pour orchestre à cordes*, copyright 1942 by Editions Salabert.

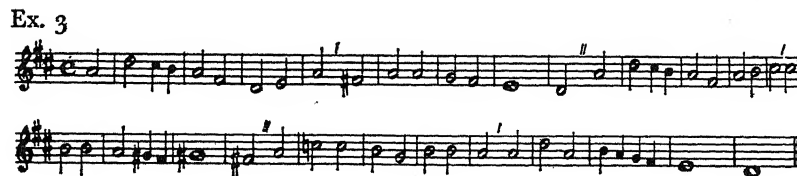
allowed to suggest its existence and is then hidden away under a couple of other things.

In my experience with the symphony in concert this opening has a confusing shock-effect that was undoubtedly carefully calculated. The second movement has ended on a sustained D. With the second violins' A and the firsts' C# you still think you know where you are but suddenly you are lost. You are not in familiar territory at all, you find. Something has happened to the D but before you know what it is, the *poco crescendo* has covered it up. Then suddenly the big theme in the low instruments is thrown at you and the D-major triad can just barely be heard. The little eight-measure tune has not been heard out once but it is played through twice nevertheless and never returns.

Now for enigma number two: Well along in the movement at a point where the recurrence of a strong rhythmic motif that has already marked several important transitions leads the listener to believe that it is about time for a recapitulation, there is no conventional recapitulation. Honegger has this surprise in store instead:



the upper lines played by first violins and a trumpet. It is as nice a tune of its kind as you are likely to run across anywhere and sounds as if it goes like this:



value in this context is immeasurable, although it is probably much less without the *ad libitum* trumpet, not mentioned on cover, title page, or caption, that suddenly appears on page 44 of the score.

For all its 48 measures, as it appears in the symphony score, the tune is accompanied by very vigorous three-part counterpoint in the second violins, violas, and basses that is derived chiefly from the big *forte* theme of Example 1. Nothing can follow but a ten-measure coda.

There seems to be no musical connection between Examples 1 and 2 but their difference from all the other materials of the piece and the strange way that they make their presence known—as though they are conscious quotations or sudden recollections—join them together in my mind, for which they have the disturbing, unnerving, mysterious quality of the *déjà vu*.

I am not sure of just how it would be made to work but it may not be beyond the realm of possibility that Honegger had this last tune in mind from the early part of the movement as a kind of silent *cantus firmus*, to be held in reserve, unheard, until the end. There is just the barest chance of this, of course, but it is the kind of idea that may have occurred to him. An analogous instance in the French literature would be d'Indy's *Istar*, the famous set of variations for orchestra whose theme is played only at the end.

All that Honegger was willing to say about it in advance—probably expecting to be asked—is

For the finale I sought a brilliant element contrasting with the first two movements. I have indicated a trumpet *ad libitum* to sustain the chorale that appears at the end. This is not a desired effect but simply a support for the melody in the first violins that risks absorption by the polyphony of other instruments with the same tone quality. The trumpet may be replaced by an oboe or a clarinet as convenience dictates. Timbre is not the first concern. It is only like pulling an organ stop . . . I have sought no program, no literary or philosophical basis. If this work expresses or makes felt some emotion, then it appears only as a matter of course, since I express my thought only in music and perhaps without being really aware of it.<sup>2</sup>

The first and second movements of the Symphony for String Orchestra are strong, stirring, and relatively unproblematic. By giving them less space than I have devoted to the finale I do them an injustice. They are remarkably close-knit, tight, well-developed. Honegger proceeds by continuous and thorough development that neglects not one single element and carries him all the way through to clearly defined codas without stopping for recapitulation, which he replaces by further develop-

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted from *Mitteilungen des BKO*, Oct. 9, 1943, in *Alte und neue Musik, das Basler Kammerorchester . . . 1926-1951*, Zürich, 1952.

ment. Recurring material may be inverted, for example, and is surely subject to rhythmic alteration.

The composer's procedures are generally contrapuntal and lean much more strongly on imitation than the casual listener is likely to notice, witness the canonic climax of the first movement, presenting an important figure from its slow opening over an abbreviated version of the first fast theme:

Ex. 4



The interest in imitation and in specifically canonic devices—although not yet in company with systematic inversion and retrogression—seems to point the way to the Fifth Symphony.<sup>3</sup>

The writing for the instruments is relatively simple. Nowhere in the symphony is there the slightest suggestion of expression through use of devices peculiar to the instruments, such as Bartók's in the Music for Strings and Percussion. The instrumental writing is straightforward. With very little indeed in the way of *divisi*, triple stops, solos, pizzicatos, and everything else idiomatic, it is still difficult enough to play.

Solomon's orchestra sounds smaller than Hull's but better equipped to cope with these difficulties. Its performance has the hard, biting, cutting quality that I think the music demands. Its recording is clean and clear. In the slow music of the second movement and the opening of the first, Hull's has the advantage of weight and richness and his group is recorded with a reverberance that is totally lacking in the other. Elsewhere his group's qualities are less appropriate. I find them heavier but unsteadier, more sonorous but not so well controlled.

The recording of the symphony made in France during the '40's under the direction of Charles Munch was never released in this country

<sup>3</sup> *The Musical Quarterly*, January 1952, pp. 121-22.

but RCA Victor has somewhere in its vaults a new version he has made with the strings of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. I hope that this competition will inspire the powers-that-be to get the tape down off the shelf and put it into production.

What to say about Rivier and Johnson?

The Concerto shows a degree of strength in occasional fast and rhythmic passages but elsewhere it has very little of interest for pianist, orchestra, or listener. No amount of adjusting of controls on my equipment would compensate for a quality in the recording that I can call only by the antonym of what is said to be a much sought after virtue. This one seems to have "absence."

The Rivier Symphony is an uncomplicated, unselfconscious, inconspicuous work, so well endowed in fact with negative virtues that it would hardly be missed.

LEONARD BURKAT

WORKS OF MONTEVERDI, J. S. BACH, WEELKES, GESUALDO, VOL. I  
Collegium Musicum, School of Music, Yale University, cond. Paul Hindemith.  
12" LP. Overtone LR 4.

WORKS OF PEROTIN, DUFAY, PALESTRINA, LASSUS, HANDL, G.  
GABRIELI, VOL. 2. Collegium Musicum, School of Music, Yale University,  
cond. Paul Hindemith. 12" LP. Overtone LR 5.

MONTEVERDI: *Messa a quattro Voci da Cappella* (1651); LASSUS: *Psaumes de la Pénitence à cinq Voix*; Amsterdam Motet Choir; Albert de Klerk, organ; cond. Felix de Nobel. 12" LP. Concert Hall Society, CHS 1196.

The two discs put out by Overtone contain a dozen compositions taken from concerts given in 1951 and 1953 by the Collegium Musicum of the School of Music, Yale University. One of the works is an outstanding example of medieval music (Perotinus's organum, *Alleluia, nativitas gloriosae*) and another a masterpiece of the late Baroque (Bach's motet, *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied*) but the majority are from the Renaissance and Early Baroque. A list of composers and titles indicates these form a miniature but varied anthology for the period from about 1460 to 1610. Volume I contains the madrigal cycle of Monteverdi, *Lagrime d'amante all' sepolcro dell' Amata*; the magnificent five-voice madrigal of Thomas Weelkes, *O Care, thou wilt despatch me with second part, Hence Care, thou art too cruel*, and his madrigal for six voices *A Sparrow-Hawk proud*; two late madrigals of

Gesualdo, *Dolcissima mia vita* and *Io pur respiro*. Volume II contains the Kyrie from the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* of Dufay, a Credo for six voices by Palestrina (*Missa Sine nomine*, first volume of Masses, 1554), a chromatic motet by Jacob Handl, *Mirabile mysterium*; two spiritual madrigals from the *Lagime di San Pietro* of Lassus (Nos. 7 and 17) as well as a German song, *Im lant zu Wirtenberg*, and finally, two motets of G. Gabrieli, *Nunc dimittis* and *Virtute magna*.

This music displays an amazingly wide range of expression extending all the way from the hearty, yet sly wit of the German song of Lassus to the profundities of his spiritual madrigals and to the intensely dramatic pathos of Monteverdi; from the lovely filigree of Dufay to the brilliant sonorities of Gabrieli. One of the reasons for the satisfying breadth of expression is that these works are not approached as "old music." The conductor is a creative artist who knows music as a living means of expression and he approaches works of the 15th and 16th centuries from this point of view. His attitude is apparent in a variety of ways but especially in the flowing tempos and in the bold and definite shaping of the works. Fortunately, vital performances of Renaissance music are becoming more and more common, partly because of increased historical knowledge, and historical knowledge certainly has an influence on these performances. It seems, however, that their vitality comes primarily from the intent to make clearly audible the contours of the music itself.

The Credo of Palestrina furnishes a very clear example of this attitude. It is given a stunning performance, but one that may well cause raised eyebrows. It is probable that the opening and closing sections for six voices are faster in tempo and more robust in tone than Palestrina intended. Likewise, it may be that the tempo of the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* is overly slow in comparison. However, this performance does not conflict with the outlines of the piece. It reinforces the effect of six-voice scoring as compared to four, and it takes full account of the effect of the section for four low voices as opposed to those for four high voices. Neither does it contradict the historical practices of singing church music with the full voice and of slowing down for those parts of the text that are to be given special emphasis. Historical truth may be considerably stretched but it is not negated. A performance such as this is much to be preferred to the lagging and insipid ones that are often heard and that stem from various pious misconceptions.

The conductor's conception of the 13th-century organum—which includes shifts from slow to moderately fast tempo, variation from soft to full tone, and contrasts of tone color resulting from the sudden emergence of baritone quality in the *clausulae*—is certainly effective and attention-



compelling. But this interpretation is predicated on a choral body, for which such changes of dynamics, such effects of clangorous fourths and fifths, are possible. We know, however, that the organa were performed by soloists, for whom such a range of sonorities was out of the question. No matter how interesting this performance, it yet remains for someone to come to terms with such a work while maintaining due regard for the historical facts. However, this is the only work of the set in which such a discrepancy makes itself felt.

The conductor's artistry, while evident in all types of works, is possibly most impressive in the serious ones. Monteverdi's cycle of madrigals may be mentioned in support of this. The composer here devises many details to emphasize and illumine the text and these are brought out in the performance by all manner of refinements which are more and more appreciated on repeated hearing. The music, as hand-maiden to the text, runs a flexible course but despite all the detail, composer and conductor give it a clear outline which leads to the gentle, yet decisive climax at the beginning of the sixth verse of the *sestina*. Monteverdi scores the passage in low, solid chords after a section in which all the voices have cried out in dissonant complaint, and Hindemith draws an organ-like tone from his chorus which causes this point to stand out vividly as the dramatic crux of the work even on first hearing.

It is impossible to mention all the fine details of performance. Every work in its own way illustrates the breadth of sympathies, the force and intelligence of the conductor. One may mention as an important incidental the variety of tone color that is employed. The tone is not always refined; for instance, the judge's laugh in the German song of Lassus is a hearty guffaw. The Bach motet is also interesting from this point of view. The conductor chooses a tempo for the opening chorus that allows the word "*singet*" to come out with a fine, natural accentuation but that makes the other parts move very fast indeed. The almost instrumental dexterity demanded of the voices is coupled with a great deal of dry, semi-staccato tone which is also instrumental in quality. The chorus is very rhythmic and exact and gives the impression in many spots of soft, non-legato strings.

The excellent performances are matched by a fine recording job done under the conditions of actual performance. Other good features of these Overtone releases are the informative notes and the texts in the original languages and in English translation.

The Concert Hall Society recording is also an excellent one. The performances of the Amsterdam Motet Choir are extremely good,



although more conservative and less strikingly varied than those of the Yale group. The title does not make it clear that it is the first of the Penitential Psalms of Orlando that is recorded (*Domine, ne in furore*). The Monteverdi Mass is written in the older style, and while he apparently did not consider such pieces as important as those according to the *seconda prattica* it is nevertheless a work of great beauty.

EDGAR H. SPARKS

PURCELL: *The Masque in Timon of Athens* (1678); *The Fairy Queen* (1692).

Margaret Ritchie, soprano; Georges Alès, violin; Antoine Geoffroy-Dechaume, harpsichord; Ensemble Orchestral de l'Oiseau-Lyre, cond. Anthony Lewis. 12" LP. L'Oiseau-Lyre London OL 50029. (Previously issued as L'Oiseau-Lyre LD16.)

Purcell's music for the masque interpolated in an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* is an extended work and his music for *The Fairy Queen*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, is his most sustained dramatic effort. In his *Works* each occupies an entire volume, the former running to fifty pages (Volume II) and the latter to 204 pages (Volume XII). In the recording no attempt is made to preserve the broad outlines of either work, even in condensed form. Rather, each has been reduced to the proportions of a solo cantata, an excellent vehicle for Miss Ritchie's delightful singing. Each cantata consists of two songs with instrumental introduction, interlude, and finale.

In the cantata from *Timon*, the introduction consists of the overture, the opening part of which is also known as Purcell's "Trumpet Sonata." The first song is Cupid's *Come all to me, make haste*, the voice part decorated with the smooth melismas characteristic of Restoration cupids, the string accompaniment moving in mild imitations. Three dances in different meters are omitted from the overture and ingeniously inserted at this point as an effectively contrasting interlude. The second song, *The cares of lovers*, is the rhapsodic melody of George, one of Cupid's followers, sung in the original by a boy soprano. In the finale, the *Curtain Tune on a Ground*, the upper strings neatly complement the rhythmically animated *basso ostinato*, a good example of a favorite constructive device of Purcell's period.

In the cantata from *The Fairy Queen*, two dances for strings from Act III serve as introduction, the *Dance for the Fairies* and the *Dance for the Green Men*. The first song is the outstanding selection of the entire recording. This "Plaint" from Act V, *O let me ever weep*, is a more developed, more subtle sequel to the "Lament" from *Dido*. Like the "Lament" it is in triple meter with a *basso ostinato* based on the descending chromatic tetrachord. But as a more extended work, it finds relief from the *ostinato* in modulatory passages. The obbligato violin engages in dialogue with the singer and in somberly moving solos. The instrumental interlude is a "Rondeau" from the "Second Music" preceding Act I, but from this point on, all selections are from Act V. The last song, *Hark! the Ech'ing Air*, provides a bright, almost brittle contrast, enhanced by a spirited trumpet part. The instrumental finale begins with *The Monkey's Dance*, which actually suggest monkeys no more than it does fairies or green men, and ends with the concluding "Chaconne" on a square *ostinato* of notes repeated in triple measure. In the score it is subtitled, *Dance for Chinese Man and Woman*, but its antecedents are clearly no farther east than the court of the Roi Soleil.

All of this music is a product of Purcell's most mature style. The proper date for his music for *Timon*, 1694, places it near the end of his life, later in fact than his music for *The Fairy Queen* (1692). By some oversight Professor Lewis seems to have allowed the music for *Timon* to be ascribed to the year 1678, when Purcell was only nineteen years old. But the legend that Purcell composed dramatic music in his teens was dispelled fifty years ago by Barclay Squire in his authoritative article, *Purcell's Dramatic Music*.<sup>1</sup> To be sure it was in 1678 that Thomas Shadwell, as he airily put it, "made into a Play" Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*. But some or all of the music for that production was composed by Charles II's favorite, Louis Grabu.<sup>2</sup> Purcell's music was composed for a much later revival, in which the entire last part of the masque had a new text. For example, Pierre Motteux wrote the words of "George's" song, *The cares of lovers*, in the winter of 1693, as he states in his issue of the *Gentleman's Journal* for May of that year. This is apparently one of several texts by Motteux set to music first by J. W. Franck and then by Purcell. In the Second Book of *Deliciae Musicae* (1695) it is inscribed, "A Song Sung by the Boy," — the boy soprano, Jemmy Bowen — "and Set by Mr. Henry Purcell."

Owing to extreme limitations in time and in performance this record-

<sup>1</sup> W. Barclay Squire, *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, V (1904), 489-564.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Westrup, *Purcell*, London, 1937, pp. 292-93.

ing is unable to demonstrate the extent of Purcell's achievement in his music for *Timon*. Readers of Westrup's *Purcell* or of Julian Marshall's preface to the score will note that not one of the numbers singled out for special approbation there is heard here. The opening duet, *Hark! how the songsters of the grove*, the bass solo, *Return, revolting rebels!* and the chorus, justly described as Handelian, *Who can resist such mighty charms?* — all these are beyond the scope of the present offering.

Although complete and satisfactory in themselves, and offering the highest standards of musicianship, these solo cantatas cannot possibly give the full flavor of the two great dramatic compositions from which they are extracted. The label and the commentary on the jacket are therefore regrettably misleading. They give no hint that the recording does not include all of Purcell's music for *The Masque in Timon of Athens* and *The Fairy Queen*. It is to be hoped that this release, through its very excellence, will not inhibit more substantial recordings of these works being made in the future, with a full complement of solo singers and chorus.

HENRY LELAND CLARKE



# QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY FRANK C. CAMPBELL

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ALLEN, LILLIAN MITCHELL

The Present Status of Accredited Music Instruction in American Universities. [xiii, 127 p., bibl., 8vo] Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1954. Paper, \$1.50.

ARMSTRONG, LOUIS

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Musical Creation and the Listener. [121 p., illus., bibl., 12mo] London: Muller, 1954. 8/6.

CARDUS, NEVILLE, *editor*

Kathleen Ferrier; A Memoir. [125 p., ports.] London: H. Hamilton, 1954. 12/6.

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Rabelais and Music. (Univ. of N. C. Studies in Comparative Literature, 8.) [xiii, 149 p., bibl., 8vo] Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1954. \$4.25; paper, \$3.50.

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The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius. By Karl Geiringer in collaboration with Irene Geiringer. [xv, 515 p., ports., music, facsim., diagrs., bibl., 8vo] London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954. 45/-; \$7.50.

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The Romantic Ballet in England; Its Development, Fulfilment and Decline. [176 p., ports., illus., 8vo] London: Phoenix House, 1954. 25/-.

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The Libretti of the Restoration Opera in English; A Study in Theatrical Genres. (University Microfilms, Pubn. No. 8551.) [Pos. film of typescript: 330 p.,] Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms, 1954. \$4.13.

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Our National Songs. [35 p., illus., music, 12mo] [Delhi]: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Gov't of India, [1951]. Paper, 8 annas; 12 d.; \$0.14.

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LEVARIE, SIEGMUND

Guillaume de Machaut. (Great Religious Composers Series.) [7 leaves, 114 p., illus., bibl., 8vo] New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954. \$2.25.

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[(139)-322 p., 4to] [Durham, N.C.]: School of Law, Duke Univ., 1954. [Two of the nine articles deal specifically with problems of musical rights, while most of the others are of some musical interest.]

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Men, Women, and Pianos; A Social History. [xvi, 654 p., bibl., 8vo] New York: Simon & Schuster, [1954]. \$6.50.

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Richard Strauss: Stage Works; Documents of the First Performances. [63 p., illus., ports., facsim., 4to] London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1954. Privately dist.

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Paganini. Foreword by Jacques Thibaud. Translated by Marjorie Laurie. [x, 271 p., ports., 8vo] New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., [1954]. \$4.50. [Translation (first pub. by Hutchinson & Co., London, 1953) of "Paganini le magicien," Paris, Gallimard, 1938.]

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DE; hrsg. von J. M. Ritz. Schriftleiter, H. Moser. 1953. [203 p., illus., 4to] Regensburg: Habel, 1953. DM18.—. [Includes: "Oberbayerischer Holzknechtstanz; zur Entwicklung e. Volkstanzes," by Hans von d. Au; "Das altdeutsche Lied in Johann Werlins Sammlung von 1646," by Walter Salmen.]

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Wörterbuch der Musik. Ueberarb., erg., und mit Vorwort vers. von F. Stege. 2. Aufl. [590 p., illus., 8vo] Wiesbaden: Dieterich, 1953. DM 12.50.

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NATHAN BRODER  
Associate Editor



# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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## OPERA IN ARCADIA

By NATHANIEL BURT

### I

IT IS sometimes hard to realize that the *opera seria*, that "concert in costume," that butt of Marcello and Addison, that "artificial" product of an "artificial" age, against which perhaps all the tendencies of Romanticism in music and drama were to a large extent a reaction, that "monster" as its enemies were fond of calling it, was in itself a product of a Reform. Pietro Metastasio, court poet of Austria from 1730 to 1782, author of the century's most famous librettos, dominated the *opera seria* in these its most splendid years. And it is against Metastasio or at least the Metastasian melodrama that both Gluck and Alfieri rebelled and introduced their own "reforms." Gluck and Alfieri sought something natural and noble, something true to both human feelings and the genuine antique; Metastasio came to represent everything against which they were to react, everything empty, effeminate, ornate, and, always, "artificial."

Yet, ironically, to his time and for his admirers, Metastasio himself represented the culmination of another earlier reform whose aims were at least superficially identical to the Romantic-Classicism of the late 18th century: a return to a nobility at once natural and antique. Metastasio was considered to have achieved these aims even within the limits of opera. True, he was never credited as the initiator of this reform, but

rather as the refined end-product. But still he thought himself, and was thought by others, to be a reformer of the "drama" and hence of the opera.

The origins of the Metastasian reform are imbedded in the history of the Italian 17th century, in the state of the theater then, and in the peculiar position of opera not so much as music but as stage and literature. Metastasio inherited his position from Apostolo Zeno, who preceded him as court poet in Vienna during the years 1718 to 1729. Zeno in turn received his impetus from the ideals and personages surrounding the creation of the Arcadian Academy, which, though not officially founded until 1690, had its real beginning during the middle of the century in Rome.

Perhaps first a glance at the more familiar summit of this development will help in the understanding of what comes before it. The years 1700 to 1750 can justly be called the operatic years of European culture. The story of the wide distribution at that time of Italian composers, singers, and stage designers throughout the West is too well known to need emphasizing here. Italian opera, both *seria* and *buffa*, had then somewhat the same sort of distribution and impact that the American silent movie had in the 1920's. And probably for a similar reason: not being entirely dependent on words, it could leap national boundaries. It was the esthetic *lingua franca* of its time, the bane of literati and nationalists, the delight of the luxurious and frivolous among both the nobility and the rabble.

The secret of this stupefying popularity tends to elude us. Yet it would seem that an art form that so dominated a civilized world during a half century or more cannot be altogether rejected as an absurdity. A movement that produced among others Handel, Vivaldi, and the Scarlattis in music, the Bibienas in stage design, and set the whole tone of such a painter as Tiepolo, is presumably worthy of some estimation.

But it is admittedly hard to come to terms with the *opera seria*. Too much has, of course, been irreparably lost. We have sets and scores, we have librettos, but these are empty shells; most of the scores are almost beyond reproduction as performances, principally because they were written for castrati, with the attendant dramatic impossibility of soprano heroes. Transposition doesn't work too well, since music written for high coloratura is hardly suitable for even the most bravura tenor, not to mention the difficulties of instrumentation, sequence of key, and the sequence of vocal contrast in the order of the arias, etc. But even more prohibitive is the present state of vocal technique. We simply haven't got

the singers to satisfy the music's demands of agility, span, and expressiveness; not to mention the improvised embellishments. These are at least the common objections to the performance of *opera seria*. Perhaps another is the modern listener's unwillingness to endure the enormous length of the repeats in the *da capo* aria. Besides, any attempt to reproduce the staging authentically would be prohibitively expensive. As for the librettos, is it really fair to judge them apart from performance? How many librettos of any time read better than, or even as well as, those of Metastasio?

All this is obvious; yet one obvious conclusion does not yet seem to be generally drawn. If the pieces, the best of the outer fragments of the broken bubble, the Bibiena stage sets, the tradition of an unsurpassable vocal technique, the visual record in Tiepolo of the operatic ideal, the elegantly mellifluous and formally graceful dramas of Metastasio exhibit such residual evidences of splendor and grace, is it not possible that the whole, the opera in performance at its imaginary best—say something equivalent to a Farinelli in an *Artaserse* musicked by a Vivaldi or a Handel in a Bibiena theater with his sets—is it not possible that this may well have been a spectacle ravishing almost beyond our comprehension, magnificent and tasteful beyond anything we have ever known? Granted that these ultimate conditions must seldom, perhaps never, have been fulfilled. Still one cannot absolutely dismiss the ideal of such an integration. The sacrifices made to achieve it seem perhaps exorbitant to us, from the barbarism of castrates to the rigidity of the forms, the implausibilities of the conventions. Still it is not impossible (carried away by enthusiasm) to regard *opera seria* as a thoroughly successful realization of the operatic ideal, the union of the arts. Decoration, music, drama, poetry all sacrificed to each other and to performance, but still met in as elegant and as exalted a blending as the history of the West has ever known. The world-conquering popularity of *opera seria*, its tremendous impact upon all other genres of music, certainly supports this view. In any case, be that as it may, the *opera seria* cannot be merely dismissed.

Perhaps a key to understanding the business is the curious position of Metastasio. If we are to pick any one dominant figure in the field of *opera seria*, it would certainly be not a composer, a singer, or a designer, but a librettist, Metastasio. Indeed, the *opera seria* was primarily thought of as theater, not music.

And Metastasio was, of course, never thought of as a "librettist" at all, or even a playwright. He was considered the most famous poet of Italy, though he spent most of his life in Austria, and the most famous

poet of Germany, though he never spoke, much less wrote, German. He produced a score of poetic dramas all of which were set innumerable times by innumerable composers. He thought of them as dramas, not as mere frameworks for musicians. He was considered quite seriously the successor of Sophocles and Euripides; indeed by Burney as even in some ways an improvement on them.<sup>1</sup>

From 1745 to 1775 there were produced never less than ten new settings every year of some of his various texts. Some years (1758, 1769) saw as many as a score. *Artaserse*,<sup>2</sup> one of his most popular dramas and perhaps his best, was set over 70 times, the latest in 1824.<sup>3</sup> These performances of new music to old librettos took place, of course, not only in Italy, but everywhere from Lisbon to London to Copenhagen, Warsaw, and Moscow. No composer of any position failed to set at least one of his plays. Handel, for instance, set *Siroe*, *Alessandro* (as *Poro*), and *Ezio*, while others set the same book two or even three times.

Metastasio reaped a harvest that had been long growing. He capped a climax. Apostolo Zeno, his predecessor at the Austrian court, had already prefigured his career. Zeno too was the greatest poet and dramatist of Italy and Austria in his day (1700-30). His pieces also were set by composers everywhere. He suffers largely by being succeeded. Metastasio overshadowed him.

For the causes that produced these writers we have to go back into the previous century.

## II

The early history of opera, unfortunately for musicians, has to be thought of in terms of literary rather than musical fashions. Being an offshoot of that deliberate Renaissance attempt to revive the theater of the ancients, it is referred by its contemporary critics at every point back to Greece and Rome. The Arcadian Reform is no exception to this.

Our stage, despite the medieval mystery, does really seem to be largely a cultivated plant. The Italians during the 15th and 16th centuries, busy with translating, copying, and imitating Greek and Roman plays, finally created, almost unwittingly, an indigenous theater, but one still con-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Burney, *Memoirs of Metastasio*, London, 1796, I, 12. "... but though in his dramas he has more pathos, poetry, nature and facility than we are now able to find in the ancient Greek tragedians ..." See also III, 306.

<sup>2</sup> Gluck's first opera was an *Artaserse* of 1741 in Milan.

<sup>3</sup> Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, Cambridge, 1943, p. 77; of Metastasio "... there are far more than a thousand settings of his librettos."



sciously derived from scholarly effort. Carefully following the classic division, the Italians created a comedy after Plautus, which was a success, and a tragedy after Seneca, which seems to have been a bloody and much imitated failure. The seeds of this endeavor, parallel with local developments in some cases, took root in Spain, in France, and in England, with varying results. The impetus was on the whole Italian and archaistic. Comedy had a great burst of popularity in Italy from the middle years of the 16th century through the first quarter of the 17th. It took the form of both the pseudo-classical Plautan comedy and of the improvised and thoroughly native *commedia dell'arte*. At the end there was a reflection back from Spanish comedy via Naples and the Spanish court. Both forms and their popularity decayed as the 17th century proceeded. Tragedy seems to have retired to the closet and more or less stayed there until Alfieri.<sup>4</sup>

Both of these, tragedy and comedy, had during the whole period a rival, a relatively modern form unauthorized by Aristotle—the pastoral. This is no place to attempt the history of that overwhelming fashion. From Sannazzaro at the turn of the 16th century to Guarino at the turn of the 17th, the flowery, courtly, lascivious Arcadia permeated the whole of Italian, and hence European, culture. The pastoral was the soil from which opera sprang. The early operas, both *Euridices*, *Dafne* no doubt, *Orfeo* certainly, are neither comedy nor tragedy, but are to be pigeonholed by the purist in this third particular category.

By 1637, when opera deserted the wing of aristocratic patronage and came before the paying public in Venice, it had already begun to lose its specifically pastoral character. In Venice it developed into something quite different from anything countenanced by Renaissance learning. Opera became in fact a "show" where spectacle, dramatic fireworks, and comedy were blended to suit the taste of the cash customers. These shows were lively, absurd, impassioned, high-toned, obscene, decorative, but definitely not Aristotelian. As in Shakespeare, pathetic and horrible scenes were succeeded by buffoons, kings and clowns appeared together, and in the background the perpetual lament of deserted shepherds and shepherdesses, or their equivalent, still sounded the note of the pastoral. This development, in other words, roughly paralleled that of the French and English theater of this, or a slightly earlier, time.

The literary style and timbre of this comical-historical-tragical-

<sup>4</sup> The success of a piece such as Maffei's *Merope* seems largely a "literary" one, comparable to that, say, of *Murder in the Cathedral* in our day. That is, distinguished, but isolated and rather special.

pastoral-mechanical-musical commerce had already been set by the eminently Baroque<sup>5</sup> figure of Giambattista Marino (1569-1625). If any artist deserves that notably abused designation of Baroque, at least in its original sense, it would seem to be Marino and his style of Marinism. It has been judged the epitome of the extravagant: caprice, conceits, ornament, strained personifications, the bizarre, all these with the object of startling—to “fa stupir,” to stupefy with astonishment, is the admitted intention. Two centuries, whether justly or unjustly, sit in condemnation upon it.

At once grandiose and pastoral, pseudo-heroic and magical, the *Catene d'Adone* (1623), Marino's chief poem, sums up not only the style of its author, but also the attitude and even the subject matter of almost all following 17th-century operatic literature. For example: Venus enamored of Adonis conducts him through five gardens symbolical of the five senses, to the fountain of Apollo, through the sky in a chariot guided by Mercury, visiting the moon and various planets, and finally to the Palace of Love. (This is the very stuff of operatic stage machinery.) Adonis, after having been turned into a bird and then back again, dresses up as a peasant girl to avoid the snares of a certain sorceress. He is captured by pirates and various deluded men fall in love with him. (This transvestism and consequent amorous confusion is a permanent source of operatic plot intrigue.) There is a quantity of mythological episode and reference, a great deal of flattery addressed to various

<sup>5</sup> As a substitute for this particular use of Baroque to describe the *bizzaria* prevalent in so many phases of European culture during the early 17th century, we now have Panofsky's term Mannerist. “Baroque may be regarded as the logical continuation and extension of the High Renaissance art, with conscious accentuation and ‘deformation’ of the regular stock of techniques. These become more dynamic and (in both good and bad senses of the word) theatrical.” So Ray Daniels puts it in his article on the English Baroque (*Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1946, No. 2). The use of Mannerism to cover this phase of early 17th-century art seems to find favor among scholars of art and literature. But musicians still cling to the older German portmanteau: for them Baroque is anything between Palestrina and Mozart (*vide* Bukofzer).

However, if the word Mannerist is to be used, the word Baroque then becomes unemployed here and can be put to work as a sobriquet for the later, classicist 17th century, the Louis XIV as opposed to the Louis XIII, which is exactly what has been done. This, of course, still runs directly counter to any original meaning the word Baroque might once have had, but it is certainly more logical than a terminology that would throw El Greco and Poussin, Monteverdi and Handel, Marino and Racine all into the same rich kettle of fish. But unless Mannerist becomes official among musicians I suppose we shall have to stick with our German carry-all, which at least does have the virtues of economy, compendiousness, and a certain practicality. I have not done so here however. By Baroque I mean Baroque.

princes; for instance, family trees adorn the fountains of Apollo. Also some superfluous moralizing, despite a thoroughly amoral tone; references to science and the arts, all these decorative staples of opera librettists. Even the plot itself with its long love pursuit and capricious involvements bears a close family resemblance to the gallantry of the melodrama. Only the inevitable unhappy ending differs.

If the opera, the Venetian commercial opera of the 17th century, was a product of the "Baroque," the Arcadian Academy was the spearhead in Italy of what can then only be called the "Anti-Baroque." This "Baroque" can be summed up in the excitable and somewhat tarnished figure of Marino. The "Anti-Baroque" may first have crystallized in France around 1630, particularly in the neo-classic drama of Corneille. In Italy, while no one artist can be singled out as its champion (perhaps Chiabrera), the movement certainly can be said to center about that fantastic creature of the period, the outrageous convert Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-89).

In her salon in Rome the members read each other's poems, adopted the names of classic shepherds, and called Christina "Basilissa" (*sic*) or Empress. But one should not be misled by the stage effects of the Arcadian Academy, the name itself, and the pastoral pseudonyms of its members. This was a fashionable frivolity, and seems to have originated more or less playfully. Actually, the program of the Academy was, or at least developed into, something that might even be called rather "anti-pastoral." It was, in fact, nothing less than the most rigid classicism, a return to Aristotelian authority.

One of the motivations seems to have been a form of nationalism.<sup>6</sup> Europe at the beginning of the 17th century had succumbed to Marino and the Baroque. The French were the first to react, and in their drama especially produced a return to dignity, grandeur, and reason, although they did take over the fabulous machinery of Italian opera. The Italians, however, continued to wallow in licence, above all in the field of drama, that is to say, opera. French criticism assumed a superior tone and castigated Italy in the name of the classic.

Since from the very beginning of the Renaissance the Italians had thought of themselves as the direct heirs of Rome and the only true arbiters of the classic, the surprise of finding this peculiar preeminence wrested from them by the French was more than the Italian classicists could bear. They had to admit that the French strictures were just,

<sup>6</sup> See L. A. Muratori, *Della Perfetta Poesia Italiana*, Modena, 1706, especially Bk. I, Ch. III.

however, and so the literati of Rome, in particular, set themselves to the task of redeeming Italy for Aristotle and regaining their hereditary cultural leadership. Christina collected these particular literati, and they eventually formed the Academy, with the purpose of continuing their association, after Christina's death in 1689.

The Academy grew to dominate all of Italian letters during the first half of the 18th century. No city or town, however remote or provincial, failed to have its colony. The Academy in a time of political despotism, confusion, and division provided Italy with a cultural unity and a measure of intellectual freedom. The Academy was a genuine republic of letters where distinctions of birth and parochial divisions were forgotten. It succeeded in its aim, that of purging Italy of the "bad taste" of the earlier Baroque. If it had nothing much better to put in its place, a frigid, pompous, authoritarian archaism or a graceful but petty Anacreonism, its criticism had at least corrective value. It introduced, for what they were worth, standards and decorum in place of the utter confusion and caprice of 17th-century Italian decadence.

### III

The Arcadia was, of course, a purely literary movement, and the place of the opera in all this would seem to us, who tend to think of opera as music, to be a minor or secondary one. But not in the Italy of that time, for opera, increasingly from 1650 on, meant the drama. By 1700 opera had driven the spoken drama from the boards of public theaters everywhere in Italy.

Of course dramas continued to be written and published and performed too under various auspices. The situation was much like that of the poetic drama of the 20th century. Groups of amateurs indulged in theatricals, convents and schools put on plays, and there were plays in royal courts and private houses. But the professional theater was sung. It is hard to come on any explicit statement to that effect. Croce says, "In that first half of the new [18th] century it would seem as though at Naples there was no such thing as a prose theater." He is speaking particularly of prose comedies. But the prose comedy was the very last public survivor of the spoken drama, not only in Naples, but everywhere in Italy. Wherever there were public houses, they were taken over by singers. The process had been gradual. Venice succumbed first. Smaller places like Padua held out to the end of the century.<sup>7</sup> The courts at

<sup>7</sup> B. Brunelli, *I Teatri di Padova*, Padua, 1921.

Mantua and Modena<sup>8</sup> supported theatrical companies that toured the country until fairly late in the 17th century. But in Naples all was opera, and in Rome such public theaters as were allowed to exist were taken over by opera too. Opera then was not considered a form of music, not even a special branch of the drama. It was "the Theater" and there was, as far as a general public was concerned, little or nothing else.<sup>9</sup>

Opera was "the Theater" and one, furthermore, completely dominated by Baroque, by Marinist ideals and practices. Nothing could have been more diametrically opposed to the program of the Arcadians. And the libretto was almost the only profitable and popular field of poetic or even literary enterprise. Scores of these "dramas" were written every year, and if the poets were not well paid, at least they were paid and it was poetry, and they were assured of public presentation and some sale of the printed libretto; the serious among the audience followed the opera with book in hand. There was no prose opera; at least the Italians remained children of the Renaissance to the extent of insisting upon a poetic drama.

In default of a respectable culture of prose fiction or its equivalent this libretto writing was one of the few contacts, if not the only one, the Italian writer had with the general or even the cultivated public, in fact with any save specialized scholars or a local clique. Court patronage followed rather than led the public. Yet the field was admittedly dominated by venal hacks. To use again a modern instance, it was as though Hollywood were the only possible outlet for a writer outside of professional journals and Little Magazines. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the Arcadians to ignore the singing stage.

Instead they intended to have it reformed. It must return to the fold of the classic; it must, if possible, obey the Aristotelian rules. It must, in other words, go back to its original intention of restoring the Greek stage, with emphasis on stage, of course, and not on music.

The newer conventions of opera, already firmly established, and the taste of the public were, of course, too much for any such antiquarian attempt. But none the less a good deal seems actually to have been effected.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* The Mantuan group recited in Padua as late as 1662 (p. 106); the troupe of the Duke of Modena existed as late as 1691 (p. 111).

<sup>9</sup> Burney, *op. cit.*, II, 318, ". . . in the year 1770, when I visited the principal cities of Italy . . . I heard of no successful dramatic representation *without music*" (Burney's italics): apropos of Metastasio's claim that his works had been spoken there with success, as well as sung.

## IV

In tracing the impact of Arcadia upon opera we are fortunate in the possession of a single work that merits the designation of the First Arcadian Opera. Not only do we have direct evidence that the Arcadians themselves thought of it as such; we also have both the score and the libretto.

The work is *La Forza del Virtù* by Domenico David (? -1698), set by Carlo Pollarolo (1653?-1720) and produced at the T. San Gio. Grisostomo at Venice in 1693. Besides the evidence that the Arcadians approved of it to a very special extent, we know that it was almost spectacularly successful. It was admired by Zeno and others, and has also a curious relationship to the work of Metastasio. It might be regarded perhaps without too much exaggeration as the particular point of origin for the development of the Metastasian *opera seria* and as such worthy of some notice and examination.

The claims of *La Forza del Virtù* to this Arcadian favor rest primarily upon the authority of three passages. Two are from works of G. M. Crescimbeni, one from a letter of Apostolo Zeno.

The first is found at the end of the Sixth Dialogue of Crescimbeni's *La Bellezza della Volgar Poesia* (1700). Speaking of comedy, the pastoral, and of opera, the passage reads:

... it seems today as though Italy had begun to open her eyes, and to realize how trifling was the advantage which she had procured for herself by straying from the ancient ways. And although she has not yet reclaimed true comedy, choosing of two evils the lesser, she has at least corrected in many respects the monstrous maiming practiced up to this time, and achieved a drama spun throughout of noble materials, without buffoonery, such as is the practice today in the theaters of Venice; and of leaving in the recitative some room for the passions, together with a diminution in the exorbitant number of ariettas: to which end our Osino [Domenico David] and our most learned Emaro [Zeno] have principally cooperated; and therefore to them above all is due the praise.

Another, mere corroboration of the above, is quoted by Negri in his biography of Zeno, and is from Crescimbeni's *Notizie degli Arcadi Morti* (T. III, p. 110). David and Zeno are there called

... the first two that in musical dramas in the theaters of Venice abandoned the monstrous mixture of Princes with servants, buffoons, and other base persons, and who restricting to some extent the frequency of the ariettas found a greater place for the passions in the recitative.

The third passage is from a letter of Zeno to his brother from Vienna in 1721. It contains a somewhat detailed biographical and literary reference to David. Among the works listed is *La Forza*.

xiii. *The Power of Virtue, dramma per musica* given in T. S. Gio. Grisostomo in Venice by the Nicolini, 1693 in 12. It is not possible to say enough concerning the applause which this dramatic composition obtained. It was recited in all the best theaters of Italy, and repeated in Venice. His rival Dottor Giannini published a scathing criticism of this drama, against which it was defended by the Academicians of the Animosi at a public meeting *chez* Grimani; where, when the Academy had done, the said criticism was publicly burned. From the books of the Academy, which are in the possession of Sigg. Durli, you can discover the exact time of this function, which was in truth sufficiently obstreperous [*strepitosa*], and the names of the Academicians who spoke there in defense of David: I too was one of them.

It is sufficient to say that Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni (1663-1728) is generally credited as the principal founder of the Arcadian Academy in Rome (1690) and that he was the Academy's Custodian General (an elective office corresponding to president) from its foundation to his death, to indicate his position as arbiter of what was and what was not acceptable to the Arcadians. His principal critical works, *Dell' Istoria della Volgar Poesia* (1698), *La Bellezza della Volgar Poesia* (1700), and Commentaries on the *Istoria* (1702-11), were published together in a definitive edition as one work in 1730-31 at Venice. The *History* is the first attempt at a general history of Italian poetry. The *Bellezza* is an exposition of Arcadian ideals in the form of dialogues put into the mouths of prominent Academicians.

These dialogues cover such questions as the "True nature of the Lyric" (I), "The method of composition familiar to the Greeks and how the same method may be imitated by Italians" (IV), the precepts of Tragic Poetry (V), and so forth. The Sixth Dialogue, of which we have quoted a portion, closes with a discussion of "comedy" according to classic and Aristotelian definitions, and as exemplified by the Roman and Renaissance comic playwrights. From this basis are derived definitions as to what are the proper uses and effect of true comedy, especially as opposed to the tragic. The dialogue concludes with a short history of the pastoral, and of what we should call "opera," treated, of course, as a purely literary, never as a musical, form. Here both the pastoral and the *dramma per musica*, which is considered a direct product of the pastoral, come in for severe castigation, indicating what were some, at least, of the Arcadian's special objections.

These are, again, 1) the mixture of base and noble persons, and hence necessarily of comic and tragic elements in the same work, since noble persons are intrinsically dignified and base ones ludicrous; 2) the overabundance of arias, that is to say, music at the expense of words. The "confusion of persons" is said to have led to the "total destruction of the rules of poetry, even to the neglect of proper diction, which con-



strained to the uses of music lost its purity and became full of idiocies." The "regular handling of those figures of speech which ennoble rhetoric" was abandoned in favor of "familiar language."

More generally, the Arcadians were to initiate a revolt against the "false conceits, cold witticisms, inflated style, and other evils of the 17th century" as opposed to an Arcadian "harmony, clarity, and sentiment."<sup>10</sup> Also, Max Fehr<sup>11</sup> gives five specific Academic restrictions on the drama, five elements that they insisted could not be permitted to real tragic theater. These were: 1) the marvellous; 2) the pastoral; 3) love intrigue; 4) the ridiculous; 5) the happy ending. But every opera libretto, no matter how noble the main personages, fictional or historical, or how pseudo-tragic the tone, consisted of exactly these five elements and few others. The librettists, in other words, refused to conform to classicist and Renaissance standards of either comedy or tragedy; instead they catered, and very profitably, to the public, a lamentable situation.

As for Zeno, our other certifier here of Arcadian purity, he not only exemplified the Arcadian ideal in practice as a writer, but he was also busy as an organizer of Arcadians in Venice.

David, though he fathered two other dramas and published lyric poetry, seems to have been distinguished mainly for his membership in the Academy, his friendship with the poet Redi, various scholarly activities, and the authorship of *La Forza del Virtù*. His opera was not only critically correct, it was also a hit. We have, to supplement the testimony of Zeno, the word of Bonlini.

Giovanni Carlo Bonlini, a Venetian enthusiast, published anonymously in 1730 a catalogue of the operas performed in Venice from 1637 to that date. Entitled *The Glories of Poesy*, it is ordinarily content with a mere listing of name, theater, and date of performance. But the catalogue adds to its listing of the piece *La Forza* "the drama that has made memorable the name of its celebrated author." This for Bonlini is a eulogy.

The opera had a history after this first performance. Besides performances elsewhere in Italy (Bologna 1694, music by Perti, Naples 1699 as *Creonte* with music by A. Scarlatti and others interpolated, etc.), it was performed with great éclat at Hamburg in 1700 as *Die Macht der Tugend*.<sup>12</sup> It was revived in Venice in 1717 at the T. San Moisè with

<sup>10</sup> Muratori, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, Ch. IV, p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> M. Fehr, *Apostolo Zeno und die Reform des Operntextes*, Zurich, 1912 (dissertation).

<sup>12</sup> Loewenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 53.



music by "diversi" under the title of *La Virtù Coronata*. This was, however, the same text that "fu tanto gradito" in 1693, as Bonlini again goes out of his way to remark.<sup>13</sup>

Finally it was rewritten by Metastasio as *Siface*, and produced at Venice in 1726 with music by Porpora. Once more Bonlini comments on the performance. "The subject of this drama is that of the Power of Virtue, which had already been performed with such applause in 1693."

The attitude of Metastasio himself towards *Siface* is rather curious. He wrote of it in 1748<sup>14</sup> and again in 1772<sup>15</sup> as a drama "composed against my will" at the instance of Porpora, a "reformation" of an old drama which, though completely changed, nonetheless was not of Metastasio's design. Despite this statement made by Metastasio at two different periods of his life, there still exists, in the Conservatory at Naples, the score of a setting by Francesco Feo for the T. S. Bartolomeo, spring 1723.<sup>16</sup> Thus Porpora could hardly have been the one to "force" Metastasio to reform the libretto, and *Siface* is, in fact, Metastasio's first serious dramatic production, antedating *Didone* by a year. Perhaps it was not a success, and he was sensitive about both the failure and the plagiarism.

*Siface*, too, had a long career of its own, altered, set, and reset. It exists as *Viriate* (Hasse 1739, Galuppi 1762, etc.)<sup>17</sup> and under other titles.

The literary and Arcadian position of the libretto emerges clearly; of the music, which survives as well, these various gentlemen say nothing whatsoever. This attitude towards opera is typical, if we may judge by the very scanty and nearly always rather condescending mention of music in the correspondence of Zeno and Metastasio.

<sup>13</sup> How "memorable" the name of the "celebrated author" (which can only refer to David) remained is indicated by the curious distortion of this bit of praise down through the years. When Bonlini mentions the revival, with new music, of 1717, he says the piece is the "*Forza del Virtù*, che con musica del Polarolo fu tanto gradito nel . . . Anno 1693." The praise seems to have been perverted in a revised edition of Bonlini published by Antonio Groppo in Bologna 1745 to refer to Pollarolo rather than David; and Salvioli, *I Teatri de Venezia (1637-1700)*, Milan, 1879, p. 126, again distorts this praise to the benefit of Pollarolo, for whom it was certainly not originally intended.

<sup>14</sup> Burney, *op. cit.*, I, 223, Lett. to Abate Pasquini, Jan. 17, 1748.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 9, Lett. to Abate Alberti, 1772.

<sup>16</sup> Loewenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>17</sup> T. Wiel, *I Teatri musicali veneziani (1701-1800)*, Venice, 1897.

## V

What, then, are the evidences in the work itself that might explain

the rather special contemporary *éclat* of *La Forza del Virtù*? The causes of popularity, of course, tend to become obscure with the passage of time; but if we examine the book and compare it with certain other dramas of the century we can begin to see why these reforming critics of the Arcadia approved of it.

*La Forza del Virtù* divides into the usual three acts, rather than the Aristotelian five, with no prologue, but with an epilogue or *licenza* consisting of a duet between Virtue and the River Tagus. Aside from a perfectly extraneous ballet in Act II, the whole is a tissue of aria and recitative. The recitative is in irregularly alternating 3- and 5-stress lines, presumably iambic (though more trochaic in effect). The arias are rhymed trifles in short lines and lighter, more definite, rhythms. Scenes are determined by the entrance of characters. As a general rule there is but one aria per scene, often, but not invariably, an exit or at least an end of scene aria, but the pattern is by no means as rigid as it was to become later. In general, however, the basic form of the *opera seria* is already crystallized, recitative building up the emotion and aria discharging it.

The book, in the Venice edition (1693, second impression by Nicolini; Schatz 8293), is dedicated to Gio. Carlo Grimani. The title page is followed by a Preface, the Argument, an Allegory, and a Note to the Reader.

The Preface is a dedication. The Argument gives the historical background. The Allegory makes pedantically clear that the characters are representations of abstract human qualities (Virtue, the Irascible, Concupiscence, Intellect, etc.). The Address to the Reader is the familiar formal excuse for introducing "feigned events" into a supposedly historical account for artistic reasons.

The Argument bases the story upon the supposed character of the Castilian monarch Pedro the Cruel ("before the Catholic faith of the house of Austria yet held sway over Spain"). He wants to marry, sends ambassadors to France to procure him a bride, and they return with Bianca, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, virgin illustrious not only for her beauty but for the purity of her conduct. Pedro meanwhile, a vassal to his passions, has become infatuated with one Marta Padiglia. The opera begins with the arrival of the unfortunate Bianca in Spain, Pedro's cold reception of her, and his evident intention not to relinquish his mistress.

The cast of characters is as follows:  
Fernando (Pedro), King of Castille, *Tenor*

Clotilde (Bianca), his wife, *Soprano*

Anagilda (Marta), his mistress, *Soprano*

Rodrigo, in love with Clotilde, *Soprano*

Alfonso, Captain of the Royal Guard, affianced to Anagilda, *Alto*

Sancio, father of Anagilda, *Bass*

Padiglio, "servo faceto" of Fernando. He sings no arias, but his speeches are in the alto clef.

The action is laid in Toledo, and takes place in the following settings:

#### ACT I

Scene 1: The country of Toledo with a view of the walls of the city and of the palace of Anagilda.

Scene 6: Country apartments of Anagilda.

Scene 9: Royal retreat, with the prospect of a garden.

Scene 14: Court apartment of Anagilda.

#### ACT II

Scene 1: Courtyard.

Scene 5: Amphitheater for the spectacle of the battle of the Amazons.

Scene 9: Tribunal (the Bologna libretto has "Sala alla Gotica," perhaps a curious early instance of the Gothic revival, an exoticism already evidenced, for instance, in Tiepolo's Villa Valmarana frescoes of 1757).

Scene 12: Throne room.

#### ACT III

Scene 1: Prison

Scene 6: Royal treasury, where are kept the crown jewels.

Scene 9: Delicious retreat with a fountain.

Scene 15: Plaza in the form of an amphitheater destined for the coronation of Clotilde.

The action proceeds: Clotilde, despite her cold reception, is resolved to be faithful to her husband, whom she loves. Rodrigo is set by Fernando to implicate Clotilde in a liaison, but he himself falls victim to her charms without in any way lessening her wedded allegiance.

Anagilda, on the other hand, is not content with the position of *mâîtresse en titre*, and is determined to be queen. Despite the protestations of her noble father, and the despair of the enamored Alfonso, a more appropriate suitor, Anagilda continues to flaunt her position with the king and to scheme for the throne, in the very face of Clotilde herself. She has apartments in the palace, spends her time trying on the regalia, and otherwise comports herself with effrontery and coloratura. She has absolute sway over the inconsiderate Fernando, and under her influence he fabricates a plot for the purpose of eliminating Clotilde with some show of legality. She is supposed to have been seen with a

French courtier in amorous dalliance. With Padiglio the craven servant as false witness she is convicted out of hand and thrown into prison.

In the third act she is discovered languishing in her cell, a prey to melancholy affections. Padiglio enters, bearing a cup of poison and a dagger, and informs her she must take her pick, dispatching herself forthwith. Fernando comes downstairs to make sure his commands are obeyed. Clotilde, as her final duty, is writing a letter to her father. Fernando snatches it from her before the ink is dry, assured that it must be full of incitements to vengeance. Reading the letter aloud, he is shaken to discover that it contains only just complaints of his wife's unjust sentence, her determination to be faithful to the end, and a most earnest and pathetic plea to her father on no account, if he loves her, to dishonor her ashes by an attempt to revenge her upon the man she loves. This astounds, but does not deflect, the stony-hearted king. He insists that she continue with her self-execution. Disdaining both poison and dagger as unworthy of her, she begs Fernando to lend her the sword that hangs by his own dear side. He does.

At this moment a jubilant cry, "Liberty! Liberty!" resounds without. It is Rodrigo. He has come to rescue his beloved. Upon breaking into the cell, he will first be done with the now unarmed Fernando. But Clotilde throws herself in front of the undeserving monarch, spurns freedom at the price of dishonor and regicide, and tells her surprised and crestfallen deliverer to go about his business. This demonstration quite finishes Fernando, who capitulates to her invincible Virtue. They exit united.

This is the climax of the action (Act III, Scenes 1 through 4).

Anagilda, who has been meanwhile testing the crown for size, is informed of this change of affairs. A woman of direct action, she steals, with intent to kill, upon Clotilde dozing contentedly in a garden to the music of fountains. Anagilda is only prevented from stabbing Clotilde by the fortuitous presence of Alfonso *in disparte* and the arrival of Fernando. But Clotilde, so rudely awakened, is more than equal to the occasion. She forgives Anagilda; that shall be her only revenge, she says. Fernando, not to be outdone, forgives Rodrigo. Anagilda and Alfonso quickly adjust themselves to circumstances.

The last scene shows the coronation of Clotilde, with all assembled. Just as Sancio, father of Anagilda (and a man of honor throughout), is to place the crown upon the head of the new queen, Anagilda rushes forward, and as a last act of penance, herself places the coveted symbol upon the tresses of her successful rival. With cries of "Viva, viva,

Clotilde!" the drama closes neck deep in nobility, and the stage opens to reveal the machinery of the *licenza*.

Reminiscences of Busenello's *Poppea* and predictions of *Fidelio*, both as it were in reverse, come to mind. Particularly striking are the parallels between the characters of Poppea and Anagilda, the attempted assassination, and to some extent the characters of Sancio and Seneca. The wifely devotion of Clotilde may be one of the many foreshadowings of Leonore.

Curious and significant is the reversal of moral tone from the earlier Busenello. Poppea represents a flagrant triumph for gorgeous vice. Clotilde, in a somewhat similar set-up, gains an equally decisive victory for prim virtue. Comparisons with Leonore are interesting too. In that opera the liberation from prison effects a revolt against tyranny. Clotilde, on the other hand, spurns freedom in favor of her duty as a subject of her king. The prison scene in *La Forza* is, in any case, a striking one, and may well be, for lack of other evidence, the original of such later operatic prison scenes, including those of *Fidelio*; not to mention that of the *Beggar's Opera*.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly the drama of *La Forza* is not inconsistent. Its absurdity lies in its very consistency, in the exaggeration of the dominant qualities of each character. But "allegorical" as they may be, they are human characters, and the action is one of human will power and passion. The drama is fairly straightforward, noble and pathetic in tone, and is resolved without recourse to tricks: supernatural intervention, the revelation of an identity, or the last-minute disclosure of a transparent secret.

The language itself, though high-flown, is not extraneously decorated, or elevated beyond the rather elevated action. It retains much of the characteristic 17th-century antithetical dialogue, in which the characters bat the ball back and forth in short, almost rhythmical, phrases of equal length. There are many asides, soliloquies and comments made from behind pillars.

The *servo faceto* plays an important, though not very facetious, part; there is a pointless ballet, and plenty of arias. But certainly in general tone, in organization and in point of view, the effect of Arcadian reform can be felt. Except for the ballet, there are no scenes not fairly closely integrated with the action. The *servo faceto* is not humorous, merely weak. That he does not sing an aria is no doubt significant.

The high point of the drama, the prison scene, is projected in a recitative scene of some length and elaboration. The two minor lovers

<sup>18</sup> Says Gay's *Beggar*: "Besides, I have a prison scene, which the ladies always reckon charmingly pathetic." Evidently a staple by the 1720's.

are, of course, the purely conventional castrati of the Baroque love maze, and the happy ending, with all knots tied and one lover odd man out (poor Rodrigo), is also thoroughly in that tradition. No unity of time or place is attempted, and there are three, not five, acts. But in the direct delineation of character, the orderly action, the lack of comedy, the high tone, we see something quite different from the run-of-the-mill Venetian opera. Clotilde is certainly treated with a real attempt at seriousness; she at least is woven of "noble materials throughout."

## VI

This rather detailed examination of David's libretto does reveal, on its own merits, something of the Arcadian intentions. But to place *La Forza* into proper relief, at least a brief glance at works later and earlier would be appropriate.

First, Metastasio's *Siface*, to emphasize the general trend of the reform, and while the action of David's drama is still present, to some extent, in the mind.

The changes of name and locale are superficial. The three lesser persons, Alfredo, Padiglio, and Rodrigo, have been reduced to two. Alfredo exists untouched; Padiglio and Rodrigo however have been combined, very much to the advantage of dramatic economy. This new character performs his double function, accuser-messenger and rejected lover of the heroine, under the name of Libanio.

The action is almost identical:

### ACT I

The king receives his wife coldly, determines to elevate his mistress to the throne.

### ACT II

A false judgment is effected against the heroine.

### ACT III

The attempt to rescue the heroine from her prison is repulsed; the king is overcome by the heroine's virtue. Everyone is pardoned and pairs off properly. Libanio odd man out.

Even in greater detail the action follows parallel; in the first act, for instance, a confrontation scene between the two women, in the second a trial scene, in the third the whole prison scene with the presentation of the poison and dagger to the heroine, the letter to her father read by the king, the attempted rescue, the refusal of the heroine to be rescued, the capitulation of the king. All these have exactly the same action. Even some of the lines, those at the very beginning of the third act, the

heroine's soliloquy, are the same, though the scenes are otherwise rewritten.

But nonetheless the differences are striking and not without significance. *Siface* is certainly a much better organized, a much more cohesive and reasonable piece than even *La Forza*, which compared to its contemporaries and predecessors is reasonable indeed.

The first act in both is pretty much the same. It is in the second act and the last part of the third that most of the rewriting was done. The trial in *Siface* is certainly more effective than the one in *La Forza*. In the earlier work Fernando as judge and jury simply convicts the girl out of hand on the evidence of the perjured slave Padiglio. In *Siface* there is an elaborate structure of falsehood involving a slain messenger and a forged letter which implicates Viriate (Clotilde) and Erminio (Alfredo) as regicides and lovers. Here Orcano (Sancio) is judge, and pretends to condemn them, while really planning revolt and rescue; and it is the released Erminio and Orcano himself, the fiancé and the father of the villainess respectively, who come to the heroine's rescue in prison. The trial scene is thus much extended and very much more interesting. A real attempt is made to have it convincing.

Similarly the end is brisker and more orderly. Ismene (Anagilda) is a character quite incapable of murder; there is no scene by the fountain. Instead the knots are tied up quickly as the reunited royal pair come up from prison, and the coronation takes place immediately.

In sum: organization, reasonableness. The structure is more efficient, the motivations more convincing. The ethical tone is, if possible, still higher. The lesser characters show more to advantage. Erminio is far more of a nobleman than the lachrymose Alfredo. Libanio has much more depth than his two originals, is torn by love, duty, base inclinations, etc.

What has been lost is a certain emotional éclat. Anagilda has been grievously watered down, and Ismene seems very tame. Fernando even is less delightfully ruthless as Siface. Clotilde, on the other hand, loses sweetness and delicacy. Clotilde really does seem to love Fernando; with Viriate all is duty, duty. She is, in fact, rather repellant, which may be why *Siface* failed, comparatively, and *La Forza* succeeded. Structure is all very well in an opera, but passion is better. The attempted assassination of Clotilde may be silly and irrelevant, but it is melodramatic, and makes the pardon scene at the end more poignant. The gesture of the defeated villainess with her own hands impetuously crowning the heroine may be superfluous, but it is a gesture. In other words, color has been



sacrificed to sense and stagecraft. The characters are more solid but less flamboyant. The nobility content, already excessive, reaches new heights. *Siface* is a reform of a reform.

## VII

In contrast, *La Dori* of 1663 offers us a choice specimen of the really licentious libretto. It is almost impossible to present a brief summary that will do justice to this bewildering concoction, but some impression may be given simply by attempting the argument and dénouement. For further details, consult the rather erratic edition of the first act in Eitner's edition.<sup>19</sup>

The book of *La Dori* is by Appolonio Appoloni, the music by Cesti. Appoloni (fl. 1660-80) can be reasonably assumed to reflect the general tone of the librettists of his day. That is to say, he was known as an imitator of Cicognini.<sup>20</sup> Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (1606-60), a Florentine, is usually blamed for the final establishment of the Baroque (or bizarre) style in the libretto. Indeed his best known operatic work, *Il Giasone* (1649, music by Cavalli), seems to have determined for good and all the success of public opera in the Venetian style, and to have served as a model for all later works.<sup>21</sup> *Il Giasone* is as bizarre as one could wish, and Cicognini in his preface to it reveals in a most engaging fashion his attitude towards composition.<sup>22</sup>

I write from mere caprice [he says]. My caprice aims simply at delight. To cause delight is in my opinion simply to adapt oneself to the genius and taste of one's listener or reader; if in the reading or recitation of my *Giasone* I am found to have succeeded in this, I shall have realized my intention. If not, I shall have lost many days in writing, and you a few hours in reading or listening to it: thus the greater loss will be mine.

This obviously reveals an attitude towards "the Drama" quite unlike that, say, of Crescimbeni. Unfortunately the piece itself is as slapdash and turgid as the preface is disarming. And the same attitude is inherited by such imitators as Appoloni, whose "caprice" is also only to "delight" and to "adapt" the tale to the "genius" of the audience. However, "no piece was said to have been more often repeated in all the theaters than *La Dori*,"<sup>23</sup> and it was the foremost opera of its period.

<sup>19</sup>R. Eitner, *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musik-Werke*, Vol. XII.

<sup>20</sup>J. B. de Laborde, *Essai sur la Musique*, Paris, 1780, III, 256.

<sup>21</sup>Crescimbeni, *op. cit.*, Dial. VI, p. 106; also *Commentarii* I, iv. xi, p. 295.

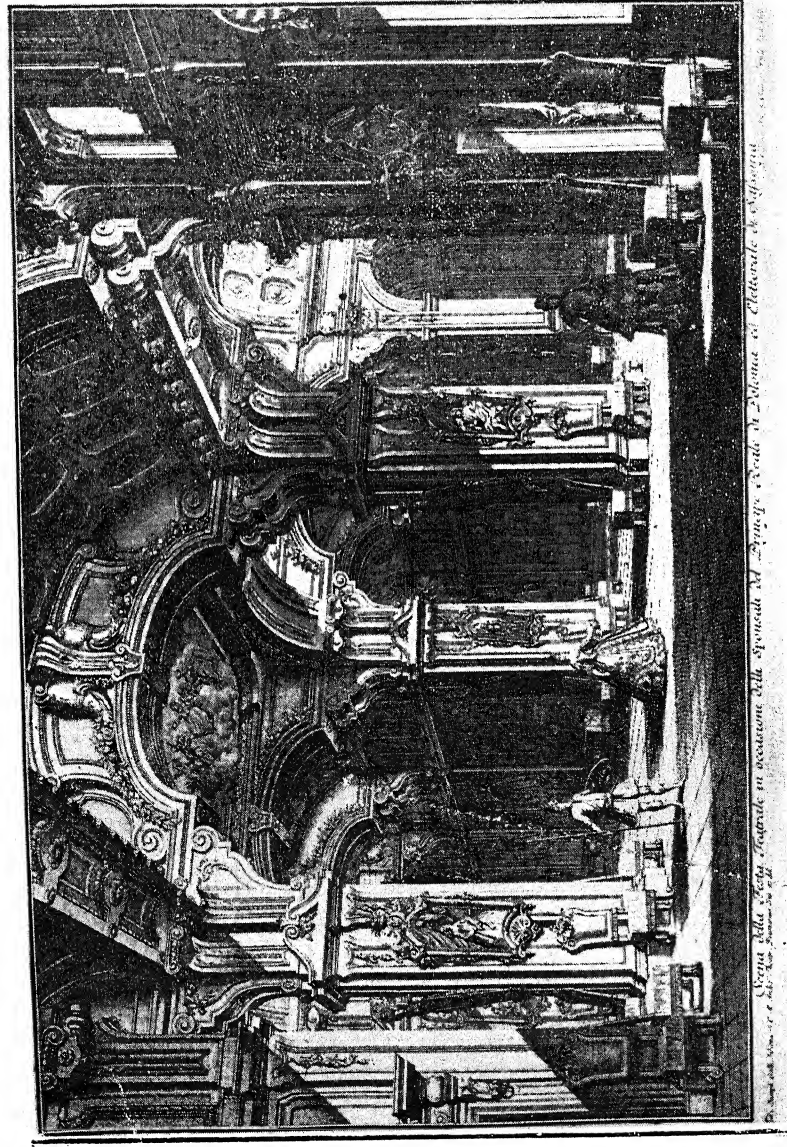
<sup>22</sup>Eitner edition of *Giasone* in *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup>Laborde, *op. cit.*, III, 256. Bonlini also indicates its "merited popularity" in Venice (1663; revived 1667, 1671) and elsewhere.

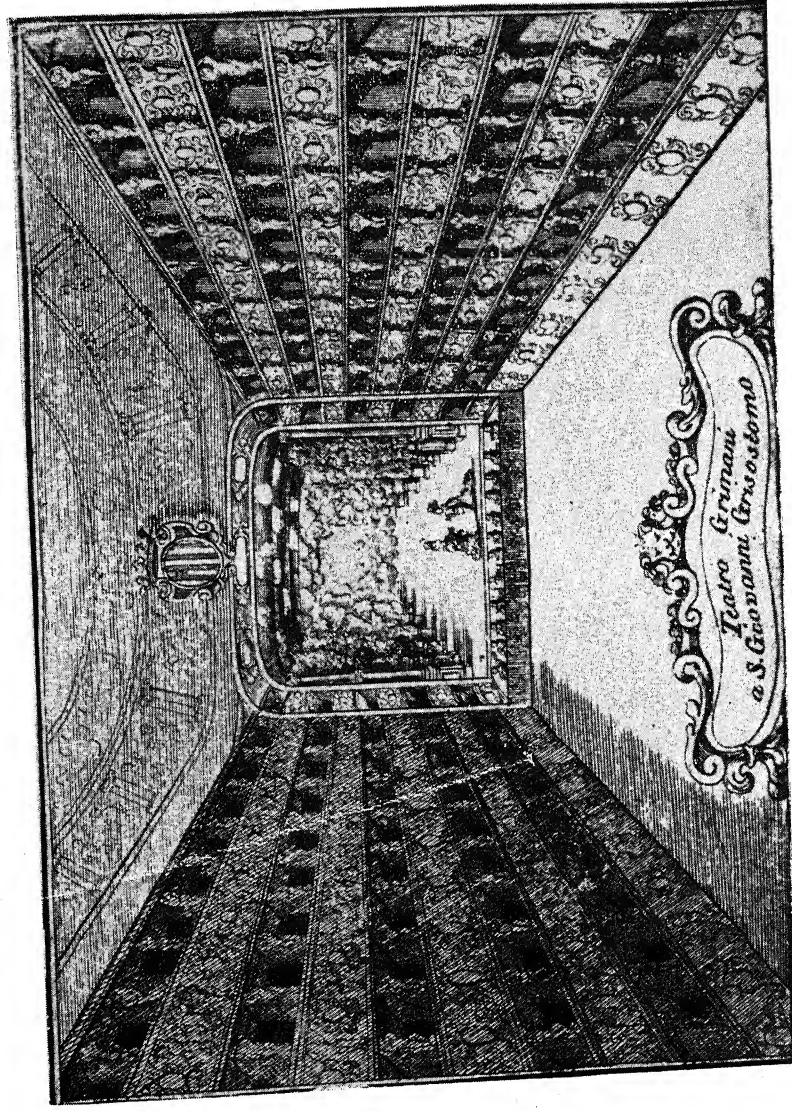




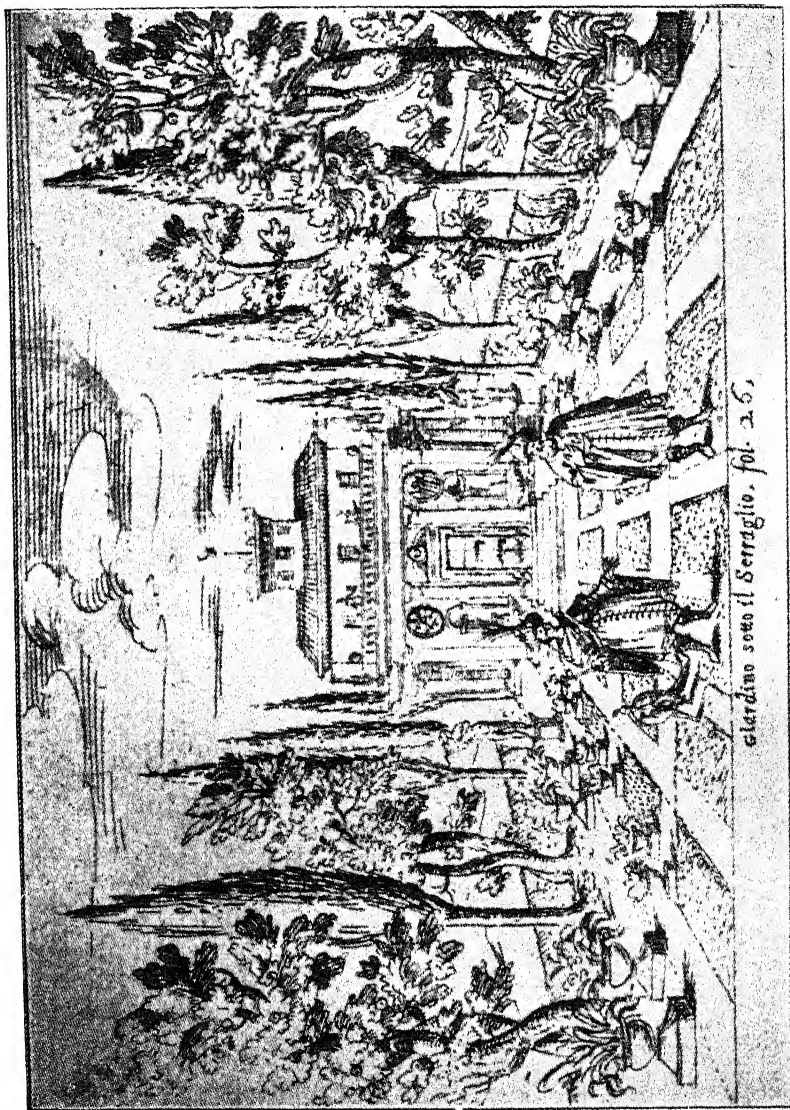
Pietro Metastasio



Design for a Stage Set by Giuseppe Bibiena, Dresden, 1719



The Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice



elardino sotto il Serraglio. fol. 25.

A Scene from *La Dori*

From an etching published in 1665

## Cast of Characters:

Artaserse: satrap of Persia, regent of Oronte.

Oronte: Prince of Persia, heir to the throne.

Dori (disguised as the male slave Ali): supposed princess of Egypt.

Tolomeo (disguised as Celinda): Prince of Egypt, supposed brother of Dori.

Arsinoe: Princess of Nicea, betrothed to Oronte.

Arsete: courtier of Egypt, tutor of Dori and Tolomeo.

Erasto: Captain of Persia, confidant of Oronte.

Golo: *servo faceto* of Oronte.

Dirce: old nurse of Arsinoe.

Bagoa (or Erindo in some editions): eunuch of the harem.

Argument: the Kings of Persia and Nicea, to establish the friendship of their kingdoms, have betrothed their children in infancy, Dori, daughter of Nicea, to Oronte, son of Persia. They sign and seal a document to that effect.

Meanwhile the King of Egypt has also been blessed with a daughter, also called Dori. She is confided to the care of the trusty councilor Arsete, to be brought up, but the child is strangled by accident. Arsete flees, and takes up with pirates. On one of his forays, he sacks a Nicean castle, and captures the child Dori, Princess of Nicea (complete with document of betrothal). Arsete then returns to Egypt and substitutes the Nicean Dori for the dead Egyptian one. No one knows the difference.

Oronte, Prince of Persia, is sent by his father to Egypt to learn the art of war. There he falls in love with Dori, and is betrothed to her. He is recalled by his dying father before anything can be done officially about his betrothal to the Egyptian Dori. His father dies, and puts Oronte under the regency of the satrap Artaserse, with the solemn injunction that Oronte must fulfill the contract with Nicea: if the missing Dori cannot be found, Oronte must marry her younger sister Arsinoe.

The deserted Egyptian Dori, fearing the constancy of Oronte, disguises herself as a boy and disappears in search of her lover. She is accompanied by Erasto, a companion of Oronte's who had been left behind in Egypt. Dori and Erasto are separated and Erasto thinks she must be drowned. He returns to Persia and breaks the sad news to Oronte, who refuses to believe it.

Actually, Dori has been washed ashore, seized by thieves, and sold as a slave in Nicea. Still disguised as a man, and now known as the slave Ali, she becomes the property of none other than Arsinoe (her *real* sister), now officially betrothed to Oronte. Arsinoe saves Ali from some unspecified scrape with the authorities, who had condemned the supposed slave unjustly to her death. Ali and Arsinoe become fast friends, and



confidantes. Arsinoe tells Ali of her burning passion for Oronte, and of her distress at his coldness. Ali is torn between grateful friendship for her savior Arsinoe and hopeless passion for Oronte. They travel to Babylon, capital of Persia, for the nuptials of Arsinoe and Oronte.

Meanwhile Tolomeo, Prince of Egypt and supposed brother of Dori, has also come to Babylon, looking for his sister. He intends to wreak upon both her and the faithless Oronte the vengeance due a flagrant flaunting of Egyptian family honor. But he sees Arsinoe there and falls in love with her. Not knowing how to approach her, he disguises himself as a maiden, Celinda, and is taken into the Nicean harem, where he quickly becomes Arsinoe's lady-in-waiting and confidante. (Arsinoe confides easily.) What agonies he suffers, listening to Arsinoe's sighs of love for Oronte; but yet what delight to be so near her! He forgets all about Dori and Egyptian family honor.

The King of Egypt at last sends Arsete, the old tutor, to Babylon, looking for both royal son and (supposed) daughter.

Now all this has taken place *before* the curtain goes up. If the spectator has taken the trouble to read the argument in the libretto, he is prepared. If not, he must wait till the confusions are resolved piecemeal during the course of the action.

To tell the truth, there is not much left to be done. Obviously all that is required is that Arsete reveal the whole truth: that Dori Egyptienne is really Dori Nicienne. Oronte can then marry her legally, Tolomeo can claim Arsinoe, and all's well. The three acts are spent avoiding the issue by means of various artificial subterfuges and complications.

The play itself pursues a course of misunderstandings, confidences, comic scenes (low and frequent), attempted suicides, and eventual revelations. The two comic servants, the old nurse Dirce and the rube Golo, play a large part in the proceedings. The climax is eventually attained in the last act when the prince, Oronte, is deposed for his refusal to marry Arsinoe. Dori-in-disguise makes up her mind, in a soliloquy, to take poison and thus free her lover, who still doesn't know she's alive (although they have been meeting on stage for several acts): then he can marry Arsinoe and regain the throne.

Exhausted by her misfortunes she falls asleep. Dirce overhears her. The lascivious old woman is ravished by his (her) beauty and, thinking it a shame that so lovely a boy should do away with himself, she substitutes a harmless sleeping potion designed for Golo in place of Dori's poison. Dori wakes up, takes the potion, falls asleep again.

Meanwhile Oronte is just about to give in and marry Arsinoe. General rejoicing. But just at this moment in comes Arsete with a farewell message from Dori to Oronte. "Willingly do I slay myself that Arsinoe may marry you. Signed, Dori of Egypt." Consternation! Then in comes Golo. He has found the slave Ali dying. In trying to save him, he found this paper on him. It is, of course, nothing less than the original contract between the kings of Persia and Nicea betrothing Oronte and Dori (remember?). Arsete is forced to explain everything.

But woe! Just when all is resolved, it seems that poor Dori is dead. Oronte bewails his fate. Tolomeo threatens to make him pay for his inconstancy to Dori. "Forgive me," says Oronte, "if Dori were still alive, I would still be faithful to her." At this moment, in walks Ali-Dori, alive. She has, of course, been merely temporarily stupefied by Dirce's potion. General rejoicing again. Tolomeo and Arsinoe pair, lovers' quartet, and *finis*.

This of course is merely a thumbnail sketch. It would take many pages even to summarize the ins and outs, turns and twists, recognitions and love complaints that lend such fascinating complexity to the original.

There is no use even bothering to compare this farago with the stiff-necked *La Forza*. One can see that Crescimbeni really did have some basis for his criticism; and the mixture of base and noble persons certainly does reach a point offensive even to republican tastes. Particularly charming are the interludes where Dirce gloats over Ali and Oronte in her forthright fashion; and any scene involving the eunuch Bagoa is sure to explore the further reaches of bad taste. Yet *La Dori* was the operatic paragon of its time.

### VIII

One can sum up the changes from 17th- to 18th-century opera then in terms of form, tone, and structure. From wild implausibility and dramatic sequence careless to the point of the ridiculous, we move to the tightly motivated, carefully consequential, well balanced edifice, without digression, a play reasonable in its architecture, if by no means psychologically natural. In tone we go from a haphazard mixture of bawdiness and emotional wallowing to a moral atmosphere so rarefied as to be almost unbreathable.

In musical structure we have fewer arias and plenty of recitative, at least in the libretto as written. This would seem a clear victory for the anti-musical Arcadia till we remember that the arias may be fewer and farther between but they are much longer. The lessening in their

number can be accounted for on purely musical grounds—the natural expansion and elaboration of the form of the *da capo* aria. The distance between them has also to be spaced; a big explosion (as in Wagner) requires a long fuse.

In general, the words “decorum” and “elevation” seem best to characterize the reform; there is elegance of structure, and, on the part of the nobler characters, an insane passion for the virtuous. Metastasio carried this development just about as far as it could go. The force of virtue reaches an ultimate pitch, for instance, in a work like *Artaserse*.

Since comedy was banished from *opera seria*, it found refuge in *opera buffa*, and the flowering of this form is coincidental with the extension of the Arcadian reform in *opera seria*. In the older Baroque opera there would, of course, have been no room for such a division. We have tended to accept the *buffa* aspect of the 18th century, its satire, wit, and charm, and we have also accepted the *buffa's* caustic judgment of the *opera seria*. That world of high sentiment, outrageous passion, and stately expression is certainly remote from us. It is, in fact, hard to take “seriously.” Yet if we choose to approach sidewise, so to speak, through Handel and through Tiepolo, the imagination can enrich the limpid fanfaronade of Metastasio with a certain reflected glow. What superb attitudes of graceful renunciation, what noble weaknesses! What deportment, what condescension—above all, what style! Perhaps in default of living interpretations the strain is simply too great for us.

## IX

And then there is always the music. A real discussion of these works, as before suggested, would require the scope of at least another paper. Suffice it to say that a correlation between literary reform and musical change is difficult to establish. There are changes, and they are parallel; beyond that it is dangerous to go.

For the curious there are a great many 17th-century scores awaiting examination (especially at the Library of Congress in Washington). But almost nothing is in print. Eitner has the first acts of both *Dori* and *Giasone*; and that's about it. The *Cesti Pomo d'Oro*<sup>24</sup> is of such a different species that it has little bearing on the study of Venetian opera as a dramatic form. One should imagine that a few complete printed scores, carefully edited, of Italian opera of the 17th century might be useful.

Indeed, the whole history of post-Renaissance pre-Romantic opera

<sup>24</sup> DTO, III and IV, Vienna, 1896.

and its more decorous twin the oratorio has yet to be fairly written. The vast literary and musical subcontinent, a historical Atlantis, with its bewildering and not perhaps very tempting superfluity of material, has barely been mapped, much less colonized. To do the job properly requires training in both music and the history of Italian and French literature, not to mention that of antiquity, from which they both so self-consciously derive. The rewards of the enterprise in terms of artifacts of value are dubious; but who knows?

Yet certainly the histories of music, of literature, of taste and style, even of the visual arts, can never be other than distorted until we have clearly in focus the history of that form, the *opera seria*, which in Italy and Germany too dominated everything for a century. About opera, in Italy, centered all decoration and musical expression, secular, and, through its imitation in the oratorio, religious as well. That quality which the Victorians found so distasteful and "insincere," the "secular" in the religious art of the Baroque, is an essentially operatic quality. To the artist of the 17th century all the world's a stage indeed. In opera and the *da capo* aria was almost certainly first developed the concept of a large tonally unified musical form. Perhaps in the recitative may be seen the first concept of free harmonic flow, the endless melody of Wagner. The development of harmonic accompaniment to the melodic line, of key center and genuine modulation, of contrast of line and mass, of varieties of character, tempo, and rhythm, of the concerto and the instrumental sonata can most logically be traced in the development of the aria, the primary form of the period. There also was evolved all the paraphernalia of expression and expressiveness to which we still cling, the association of certain musical formulas with certain stereotyped moods and passions.

We are hardly in a position to estimate correctly the works of Handel, Bach, Vivaldi, Rameau without a more thorough appreciation of that opera to which in various ways their works are peripheral. Mozart after all was also to an extent a child of the later *opera seria*, which was still, even in his time, the "high form," the ultimate ambition of the composer, comparable to the orchestral symphony of post-Beethoven times. Is it not as an unsuccessful composer of Metastasian *opera seria* that Mozart's particular tragedy is to be most clearly understood?

Since the history of this opera remains something of a *terra incognita* for the intrepid historical explorer, perhaps such a work as *La Forza del Virtù*, irrespective of its intrinsic merits, might provide one station, one point of rendezvous in the wilderness, settled almost alone by Dent and his



*Scarlatti*, that stretches between Cesti and Handel. In default of recognized figures of eminence to guide us, particularly in the libretto, works of some historical significance must serve. *La Forza del Virtù* at least may lay claim to that.

## THE MUSIC OF LEOS JANACEK — ITS ORIGIN IN FOLKLORE

By HANS HOLLANDER

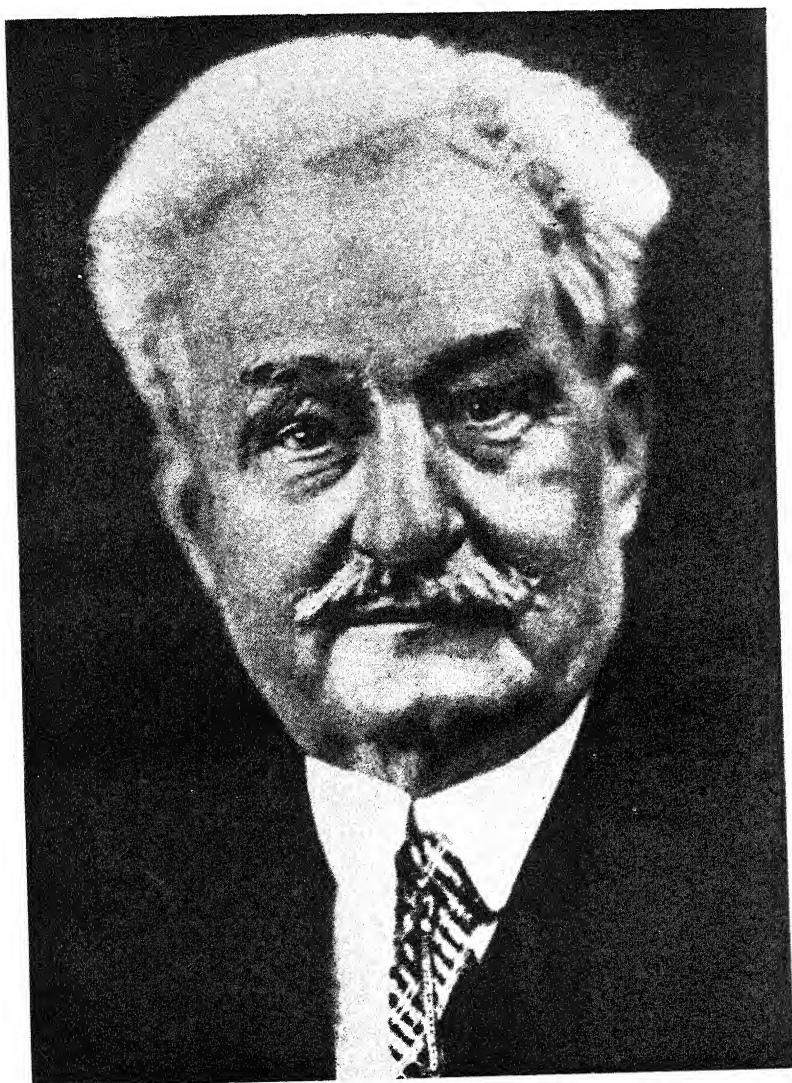
**W**ITHIN the Slavonic race-groups, the cultural division between East and West is perhaps nowhere so strongly marked as in Czechoslovakia. This is chiefly due to the geographical position of the country, whose most important province, Bohemia, has always had strong links with Europe and the West, whereas the Southern and Eastern districts — the Eastern half of Moravia, and Slovakia — gravitate towards the East. This contrast, with its partly historical and partly psychological reasons, has always characterized Czechoslovakia's cultural life, quite apart from the political antagonism that exists between the urbanized and industrialized province of Bohemia and rural Slovakia with its strong feudal and conservative traditions. In Czechoslovakian music this division is evident in the Classic-Romantic orientation of Smetana and Dvořák on the one hand, and Janáček's folklore-inspired realism on the other.

Janáček (1854-1928) was born in the village of Hucvaldy, in the hilly, wooded region of North-East Moravia, where the people work hard to win a meager living from the barren soil, and where artistic expression is likewise rugged, powerful, and untouched by any form of stylization. Janáček remained faithful all his life to this world of his childhood, so close to nature and to God, and his work drew its peculiar vitality from this contact with his native soil. As a descendant of Romanticism, and as a contemporary of the awakening of the national consciousness of the Czechs, Janáček became, like Smetana and Dvořák, a nationalist composer, that is to say his music was developed from the melodic and rhythmic characteristics of his native folk music, and in their poetic content — in the choice of texts and subjects for songs, operas, choral works, and symphonic poems — his compositions remain within the national framework.

Thus far but no farther stretches the common ground on which Janáček happened to meet his great predecessors, Smetana and Dvořák. Whereas the two latter carried the Classic-Romantic tradition of European music into the domain of Czech nationalism (with somewhat Pan-slavistic leanings in Dvořák's case), Janáček, the Moravian, soon chose his own way. His music had little or nothing in common with Classical forms, which he found, as used in the music of his own time, stereotyped and anaemic. It had, in fact, an entirely different origin from that of the two Czech masters.

In accordance with the east-west division in Czechoslovakia's cultural physiognomy, her folk music can be divided into two different kinds. One could even go so far as to say that the contrast between East and West in Czechoslovakia is nowhere more strongly marked than in her music. Romain Rolland once pointed out the vitalizing influence of the Bohemian composers of the Mannheim school (Johann and Karl Stamitz, A. Filtz, F. X. Richter) on the development of Classical music during the mid-18th century. The natural spontaneity of their compositions inspired by their own folk music brought to Classical music, in Rolland's opinion, much of its vitality and freshness. This point is interesting since it indicates the intimate relationship between Classical music and Czech folk music. Historical research has in fact proved the close connection between Czech folksongs and dances and melodic and structural types in the music of the 17th and 18th centuries. During the Baroque and Classical periods, the Czechs came by various ways into contact with Western European music, and thus their old national tunes were assimilated to the contemporary musical idiom. Consequently the Czech melodies are mostly of an instrumental character (frequently based on dance rhythms and chord motifs), the harmony remains essentially diatonic, and the forms show the usual symmetrical grouping into four- and eight-measure periods. The workmanlike Bohemian musicians of the 18th and 19th centuries, in particular Smetana and Dvořák, carried on this tradition. Their style is a clear recognition of Bohemia's attachment to Western Europe.

The chief river of Moravia, the Morava, is usually taken as the boundary between the two different spheres of culture in Czechoslovakia. In the eastern half, one can trace a lively popular tradition which for centuries has undergone no appreciable change. The country people, rooted in their native soil, strongly resisted the urbanizing influences of the 18th and 19th centuries. In this way, their language, music, and art, as well as their various popular handicrafts, remained untouched



Leos Janáček



and unspoiled by the dissipation of modern life. It is characteristic of Leoš Janáček that he was fully conscious of his role, of his mission even, as an artist of his homeland. Therein lay his strength, but, in the opinion of his critics, also his limitations as a regional figure. He was not alone in this: a group of kindred spirits — the poet Bezruč, the painters Uprka and Frolka, and the great student of folklore, F. Bartoš — were exponents of that colorful, virile, and yet at the same time tender art, originating in a rustic race. Janáček, the most forceful personality of this group, went farthest in the pursuit of his vision, perhaps because he had the deepest roots in nature and in the tradition of his race. For this reason he must be recognized not only as one of the greatest figures in the music of the early 20th century, but also as one of the most important representatives of Czechoslovakian music in general.

No picture of Janáček could be complete without his profound Slavonic tenderness and his almost evangelical belief in compassion and redemption. His great works, such as the operas *Jenufa*, *Katja Kabanová*, *The Cunning Vixen*, *Recollections of a Charnel-House*, or the song-cycle *Diary of a Young Man who Vanished*, are full of that Tolstoian spirit which, through guilt and the disgrace of sin, gives promise at the end of divine forgiveness and salvation. His Christian metaphysics, drawn so much from emotional and erotic sources, was in no way incompatible with his primitive pantheism and his almost Franciscan identification of himself with all creation. From this romantic consciousness of his brotherhood both with animate and inanimate nature, whose closeness to God was a never-ending source of wonderment to him, Janáček's art received its decisive impetus, its unique *élan* and timeless validity.

Janáček's melodic and rhythmic idiom is based on and follows the natural inflections of human speech. From short, abrupt melodic fragments, he built up his lyrical periods and his dramatic passages; frequent changes of rhythm, unusual and often bizarre intervals, irregularity of form, and frequent use of modal tonality are their most noteworthy characteristics. His melody, unmistakably based on the prosody of language, has a primarily vocal origin, and the same applies to his instrumental music. This fact explains the predominance of Janáček's vocal music (operas and choral works) over his instrumental compositions. The question of his links with folk music arises in this connection, and we must therefore consider for a moment the nature of the East-Moravian and Slovakian melodies. Quite unlike Bohemian folk music, the songs and dances of Slovakia have sprung from vocal sources. It is usually difficult to distinguish between songs and dances proper, since dance melodies were generally associated with words and have conse-

quently lived on as songs in the popular tradition. The structure of the Slovakian folk tunes, with their irregular rhythms (measures of five and seven beats are often to be found), the unorthodox grouping of the measures, and the frequent modal tonality all point to the great age of these melodies and demonstrate at the same time their dependence on the laws of speech.

Because of his deep affinity and identity with the people, Janáček's compositions are completely imbued with the spirit of their music. Let us illustrate this point with some examples. The dance-chorus *Daleko, široko* from the opera *Jenufa* shows interesting points of contact with an East-Moravian love-song.<sup>1</sup>

Ex. 1



Janáček must have known this song well, since he used its words again in a choral song of his composition, almost identical with the chorus from *Jenufa*. This version shows various similarities with the folksong, for instance in the mirror-inversion of the rhythm ( ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ) which is typical of Slovakian folk-music, but also distinct differences, such as the different placings of the melodic climax and Janáček's simplified periods.

Ex. 2



There is another version of this folksong, whose final melodic clause shows an interesting similarity to the closing cadence of the *Jenufa* chorus.

Ex. 3



The intimate relationship between the vocal melodies of East Czechoslovakia and Janáček's type of melody is revealed even more clearly in the following example from the *Sinfonietta*:

Ex. 4

Allegretto



<sup>1</sup> The examples from Janáček's works are reprinted by kind permission of Universal Edition, Vienna, and Associated Music Publishers, Inc., New York.

This lively polka theme from the fourth movement of the Sinfonietta is a good illustration of a melody made up of short two- and three-measure phrases repeated several times. But let us compare the Sinfonietta theme with the following vocal melody from the region of Hustopeče.



The similarity of the two melodies is evident. In the folksong we find the rhythmical beats modified by melismatic figuration, a phenomenon that also occurs frequently in Janáček's music. This peculiarity often leads to polyrhythmical passages, especially when those free-metrical figurations are applied to a continually-repeated fixed rhythm (*Jenufa*, vocal score, Universal Edition, Act I, p. 15).

The instrumental accompaniments in East-Moravian and Slovakian folk music provide interesting points of affinity with some of Janáček's types of accompaniment. He frequently uses arabesque-like figures revolving round a central note, or else motifs made up of an agglomeration of short notes, to support the vocal melody. Those lively figures are apt to heighten the plasticity of the melodic line, stressing its expressiveness and increasing its emotional poignancy (*Diary of a Young Man who Vanished*, Nos. 10, 17, 18, and many other examples). This stylistic peculiarity of Janáček's music is also due to the way folk music is played in his homeland, where bagpipes and violins, or very often dulcimers, accompany the melody with figured improvisations.

The tonality of Janáček's music has often been discussed. A close examination shows that his harmony is also influenced by East-Moravian and Slovakian folk music. This differs in harmonic structure from the folk music of Bohemia by the predominance of minor over major keys, but above all by the modal and exotic scales that form the raw material of many melodies, a further proof of their great age. Recent research (in particular that carried out by the Slovakian musicologist Theodor Hirner) has shown that the modal tonality of Slovakian folk music derives, not from Gregorian Chant, but from ancient scales based on the overtones of certain primitive shepherds' pipes. These scales correspond occasionally to the liturgical modes, but are governed as a rule by different laws, emerging from the practice of Slavonic folk music.

Just as in the Slovakian and Moravian folk songs, minor keys predominate in Janáček's music. Modal tonality leads to the use of the Lydian fourth, as, for example, in this charming dance-melody from the opera *The Cunning Vixen*:



Ex. 6



We could quote many folk-melodies of this type. Here is an example with a similar rhythm and partly modal tonality:

Ex. 7



As a young man, Janáček had already begun to develop his later stylistic idiom. His early opera *Šarka* (1887-88) is essentially inspired by the folk tunes he was collecting at the time and in whose spirit he steeped himself. Later on his attitude towards his native folklore underwent a certain change. In his early romantic period it appears more conventional and sentimental, in the fashion of the 19th century, and not until his masterpiece *Jenufa* (1895-1903) does his powerful realism, so expressive of his deep attachment to his native soil, come to its full maturity.

## RECENT STUDIES IN WESTERN CHANT\*

By EGON WELLESZ

I SHOULD like to discuss the present state of studies in the history of Western Chant, and to give a short survey of some of the problems with which scholars interested in these studies are faced.

Let me first say that I use the term Western Chant deliberately because it comprises the chant of all the various rites of the Western Church. Originally the language of the service was Greek, as was that of the singing.

Recent studies in Western liturgy have shown that the change from Greek to Latin took place in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> The argument runs as follows: In about A.D. 360 C. Marius Victorinus, a Christian philosopher, tried to prove the correctness of the Nicean formula that Christ was consubstantial with the Father, by referring to Biblical and liturgical usage of similar words in Greek.<sup>2</sup>

Between 374 and 382 a Roman author<sup>3</sup> argued that Melchisedek was a manifestation of the Holy Ghost in human shape; therefore, he said, it was wrong for the Romans to call Melchisedek *summus sacerdos* in the Canon of the Mass; for the title *summus sacerdos* belonged to the Son only, not to the Holy Ghost.

\* This article is a slightly revised version of a paper read at Columbia University on the occasion of the author's visit in May 1954.

<sup>1</sup> T. Klauser, *Der Uebergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache*. *Miscellanea Mercati*, I, p. 467 ff. *Studi e Testi*, Vol. 121 (1946). See also G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'église ancienne*, tome I, *Etudes de Théologie historique*, Paris, 1948, pp. 154-66.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Victorinus, *Adversus Arium* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, coll. 1063b and 1094d.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Augustinus, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, quaestio 109, p. 20 ff. *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.* 50. Quaestio 109 is to be found only in the second edition of the treatise, written between 374 and 382.

This shows that the transition from Greek to Latin as liturgical language took place between A.D. 360 and 382. We may ask why this change occurred at so late a date. The greater part of the Christian population in Rome in the first century was of Greek-Oriental descent.<sup>4</sup> It was, therefore, obvious that the liturgy had to be celebrated in Greek. From the middle of the third century one finds Christian inscriptions on tombstones in Latin in an ever-increasing number. This indicates that the new creed spread among the Roman-born population. The Church, however, adhered to the Greek language, though we may assume that the lessons were translated into Latin. We know of such a practice in Jerusalem in the fourth century, from the famous description in the so-called *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*.<sup>5</sup> Here the lessons were translated from Greek into Syriac and, for those who knew neither Greek nor Syriac, into Latin.

In the fourth century, when the Christian population grew rapidly and large churches had to be built, it became a necessity to use Latin. One church only, in the Greek quarter, continued the service in Greek.<sup>6</sup> This happened in the days of Pope Damasus; but we must discard the former view that Damasus (366-384) was the first to make this change. Rome was always conservative in liturgical questions, and if we speak of Rome we mean the Pope, who was the highest authority in theological and dogmatic decisions, but who did not interfere in liturgical matters. The liturgy of the Papal Chapel was not obligatory for other churches, not even for the Roman "station" churches, where the choice of texts for prayers was left to the officiating priest.

According to recent studies<sup>7</sup> the introduction of the Latin Canon was the work of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan 374-397. Pope Damasus, however, must have the credit for having sanctioned this bold step to make the liturgy understandable to the congregation.

But Greek did not disappear altogether; bilingual singing survived at the high feasts.<sup>8</sup> The Trisagion on Good Friday, "Agios o Theos —

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. La Piana, *Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, XX (1927), No. 4.

<sup>5</sup> H. Pétré, *Ethérie, Journal de Voyage, texte latin, introduction et traduction*, Paris, 1948, § 47, pp. 260-63.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. La Piana, *The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, XVIII (1925), No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> O. Casel, *Ein orientalisches Kultwort in abendländischer Umschmelzung*, in *Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft*, XI (1931), p. 1 ff., and T. Klauser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 480-81.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. my *Eastern Elements in Western Chant*, *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia*, Vol. 2, *Amer. Ser.* 1 (1947), pp. 50-67.

Agios ischyros — Agios athanatos eleison imas — Sanctus Deus — Sanctus fortis — Sanctus immortalis miserere nobis" (this, I should mention, is the way in which it was originally sung), is the last remnant of this widespread practice in the present Roman Missal. Another remnant of the bilingual practice is the cantillation of Epistle and Gospel first in Greek and afterwards in Latin during the Papal Mass.

Since the publication of my book, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant*, Dom Louis Brou has published a repertory of nearly fifty bilingual chants from codices of the various Western rites.<sup>9</sup>

Are all these chants remnants from the early times when Greek was the liturgical language? They are not. We have, for example, no indication that the Kyrie was sung in the Roman Mass before Gregory the Great, though we know from his letter to John, Bishop of Syracuse,<sup>10</sup> that the Kyrie was sung frequently in the liturgy of Constantinople. Some of the chants certainly derive from the chants sung in Greek in the early centuries, but the majority date from the time of the Byzantine domination in Italy in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. There are, for example, the Alleluias to psalm verses in Greek during the Paschal vespers which one finds in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* as Appendix<sup>11</sup> to the *Ordo Romanus Primus* — this is a description of the Papal Mass — or, in the new edition of the *Ordines* by Michael Andrieu, as *Ordo XXVII*, dating from the second half of the eighth century.<sup>12</sup> We shall have to come back to these Paschal vespers in connection with the old Roman chant.

Let us now turn from the small group of bilingual chants to the main repertory of plainchant and ask if this was translated into Latin at the same time as the texts of prayers and lessons of which Mass and Office consisted, or at a later date.

We have a very valuable document which shows that singing in Greek was maintained in the Church when Office and Mass were already said in Latin. It occurs in the Commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul by a Roman theologian who was known as Ambrosiaster,

<sup>9</sup> Dom Louis Brou, *Les Chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines*, in *Sacris Erudiri*, I (1948), 165-80; IV (1952), 226-38.

<sup>10</sup> *Gregor. I Epist.* IX, 12, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 77, col. 956 ff. I have shown in an article, *Gregory the Great's Letter on the Alleluia*, in *Annales Musicologiques*, II (1954), that Migne's text of the letter is preferable to that published by L. Hartmann in *Monum. Germ. Hist.* (1899). My study is based upon the text in the *Register Gregorii*, Cod. Oxon. Bodl. 193, fol. 165 r.v.

<sup>11</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 78, coll. 959-68.

<sup>12</sup> *Les 'Ordines Romani' du haut moyen age*, Vol. III, Louvain, 1951, pp. 333-88.

and who lived in the days of Pope Damasus. This author draws a parallel between the old ecstatic custom of *glossolalia*, speaking in tongues, and the singing in a foreign language, that is Greek, which nobody understands. This is a habit, he says, of the people in Italy who enjoy singing in Greek because they like the sound of the Greek words ("sicut adsolent Latini homines Graece cantare, oblectati sono verborum") though they do not know what they sing ("nescientes autem quid dicant").<sup>13</sup> The transliterations of the Greek texts in Latin MSS show indeed innumerable mistakes which clearly indicate that neither the scribes nor the clergy understood the meaning of the words.

The question of the origin of Western Chant has been obscured by the fact that for a long time Gregory the Great was considered the composer of the melodies: even when the majority of musicologists had accepted the view that such work could not possibly have been done during the fourteen years of his reign, the authority given to this great Pope as a reformer made it difficult to see the development of plainchant in an unbiased way. This explains why one calls the chant of the Catholic Church "Gregorian Chant," *chant grégorien*, *Gregorianischer Choral*, and why Peter Wagner called his monumental work on plainchant *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, though he was fully aware of the historical development. In Volume I he refers to the so-called "Anonymus of Gerbert" in the Library of St. Gall, published in Pierre Batiffol's *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*<sup>14</sup> where a list of popes is given, from Damasus (366-384) to Martin (649-653) and three abbots, Catalenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus, who are mentioned as having organized the chant for the ecclesiastical year.

Batiffol and Peter Wagner see in the Anonymus a Franconian monk who had been in Rome and had acquired information about the liturgy at the Papal court.

In a brilliant study Père Silva-Tarouca<sup>15</sup> tried to prove that the Anonymus was identical with Johannes, Archicantor of St. Peter in Rome and Abbot of St. Martin, whom Pope Agatho had sent to England in 680 to instruct the clergy in singing: "as it is done throughout the year at St. Peter's in Rome." Great importance, therefore, has been

<sup>13</sup> Ambrosiaster, *In epist. primam ad Corinthios*, XIV, 14, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Vol. 17, col. 255b.

<sup>14</sup> P. Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, Paris, 1893, pp. 349-50.

<sup>15</sup> C. Silva-Tarouca, *Giovanni 'archicantor' di S. Pietro a Roma e l' 'Ordo romanus' da lui composto (anno 680)*, in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia rom. di archeologia, Memorie*, Vol. I, 1, Rome, 1923, pp. 159-219.

given by recent scholars, such as Walter Lipphardt<sup>16</sup> and Bruno Stäblein,<sup>17</sup> to the list of popes and abbots mentioned in the *Instructio ecclesiastici ordinis*.

Recently however, in the third volume of *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age* (1951) Andrieu has proved convincingly<sup>18</sup> that Silva-Tarouca was wrong in attributing the Ordo to a Roman archicantor. He was, as Batiffol had already suggested, a Franconian monk, writing towards the end of the eighth century, without any particular knowledge of the state of the liturgy in Rome. We can assume, however, that the historical facts given in the list are correct. Thus the development of liturgical chant may have been as follows: from the end of the fourth century down to the days of Pope Hadrian I continuous work was done in Rome to give liturgical chant an ever increasing place in the service and to adapt the melodies perfectly to the spirit of the Latin language.

This process must have taken a long time. It will be an interesting task in future plainchant studies to examine the relation between the texts and the melodies and to find out how far the adaptation of the melodies to Latin texts was successfully carried out and where, on the other hand, the original Greek text is discernible. The analysis of the antiphon *Ote to stavro* — *O quando in cruce* which I carried out in my *Eastern Elements*<sup>19</sup> may be taken as a first attempt in that direction. It will also be interesting to discover which melodies belong to the oldest layer, and which, from the beginning, were written to Latin texts.

I want to stress again that an old layer of liturgical melodies did exist, a layer of melodies that was introduced in the first centuries in the West by Christian missionaries and traders from the East.

Peter Wagner and Amédée Gastoué, both of whom had a thorough knowledge of the history of the liturgy, were convinced of the Syro-Palestinian and ultimately Jewish origin of Western Chant.<sup>20</sup> This theory has had more adherents<sup>21</sup> since we have known more about the

<sup>16</sup> W. Lipphardt, *Gregor d. Grosse und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra 1950*, Tournai, 1952, pp. 248-54.

<sup>17</sup> B. Stäblein, *Zur Frühgeschichte des röm. Chorals*, *ibid.*, pp. 271-75.

<sup>18</sup> *Cf.* pp. 6-15.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-31 and pp. 68-110.

<sup>20</sup> P. Wagner, *Ursprung u. Entwicklung d. liturg. Gesangsformen*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1911, pp. 6-21, 36, 81, 207; A. Gastoué, *Les Origines du Chant Romain*, Paris, 1907, pp. 3-24.

<sup>21</sup> *Cf.* particularly A. Z. Idelsohn, *Parallelen zwischen gregor. und hebr.-oriental. Gesangsweisen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, IV (1922), 515-24.

development of the music of the Eastern Churches of which I gave a general survey in *Aufgaben und Probleme auf dem Gebiete der byzantinischen und orientalischen Musikforschung*<sup>22</sup> and a more specialized treatment in *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* in 1947.<sup>23</sup>

Duchesne's hypothesis of the virtual identity of the Ambrosian rite of Northern Italy with the Gallican of France and the Mozarabic of Spain<sup>24</sup> can no longer be accepted. The studies in early liturgy have shown that the problem of the spreading of Christian chant over Western Europe is of a more complex nature than Duchesne's hypothesis admits. More detailed studies will have to be made before such questions can be answered safely.

We must bear in mind that liturgy in these early centuries was not fixed in every detail: much indeed was left to improvisation. Only a few decades ago one could speak of three Sacramentaries — the service books containing the prayers that the priest had to say — namely: the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*<sup>25</sup> attributed to Pope Leo the Great (440-461), the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*<sup>26</sup> attributed to Pope Gelasius (492-496), and the *Gregorianum*<sup>27</sup> attributed to Gregory the Great (590-604).

Today we know that the *Leonianum* was neither written in Rome, nor for a pope, nor by a Roman; it is a collection of *libelli* (booklets), copied by a scribe in a North Italian monastery.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen u. Forschungen*, Vol. 18 (Münster, 1923). Since 1940 E. Werner has published a number of valuable studies on the subject in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, of which I cite: *Preliminary Notes for a Comparative Study of Catholic and Jewish Musical Punctuation*, Vol. 15 (1940); *The Doxology in Synagogue and Church*, Vol. 19 (1946); *The Origin of the Eight Modes of Music*, Vol. 21 (1948); *Hebrew and Oriental Christian Metrical Hymns, a Comparison*, Vol. 23, II (1950-1).

<sup>23</sup> See also the chapter on *The Legacy of the Synagogue* in my book *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 27-37, and H. Schneider, *Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum*, in *Biblica*, XXX (Rome, 1949), 28-65.

<sup>24</sup> L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 5th ed., Paris, 1925, p. 89 ff.

<sup>25</sup> C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, edited with introduction, notes, and three photographs, Cambridge, 1896.

<sup>26</sup> H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*, edited with introduction, critical notes, and appendix, Oxford, 1894.

<sup>27</sup> H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 49, London, 1915, and H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*, *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen III*, Münster, 1921.

<sup>28</sup> A. Stuiber, *Libelli Sacramentorum Romani*, *Theophaneia* 6, Bonn, 1950. Stuiber's thesis, based on meticulous philological, liturgical, and hagiographical investigation, confirms E. Bishop's view in the *Dublin Review*, October 1894, based upon his study of the *Leonianum* in Muratori's edition of 1748, that "the so-called



We know further that the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* has come down to us in two versions, one of the early seventh century with Gallican elements, a later with Franconian elements, dating from the middle of the eighth century.<sup>29</sup> We know finally that the *Gregorianum* was the first real Sacramentary;<sup>30</sup> but only its first part goes back to the scriptorium of Gregory the Great. The second part beginning with "Hucusque praecedens sacramentorum libellus" is by Alcuin<sup>31</sup> and contains a large number of prayers of Gallican origin, added to the original text by the liturgical adviser of Charlemagne whose aim it was to destroy the Gallican and Ambrosian rites so that the Roman rite, the pure Roman rite alone, should be used in the Franconian Empire.

Now let us turn back to the music.

In Volume II of the *Paléographie Musicale* published in 1891 Dom Mocquereau had drawn attention to MS 5319 of the Vatican library, a 12th-century Gradual from St. Peter's. He writes that the version of the St. Peter's MS is very different from the Ambrosian and Gregorian versions: it is "un chant réellement distinct." Yet one is able to trace out the original Gregorian texture beneath the *floriture* that "disfigure the melody." Dom Mocquereau tried to explain that such embellishments were the result of Italian taste.<sup>32</sup>

In the current volume of *Sacris Erudiri* Dom Michael Huglo, however, reverses Dom Mocquereau's theory.<sup>33</sup> He shows that the MS of St. Peter's is one of four manuscripts that contain the *vieux chant Romain*, the old Roman chant as it was sung in the Papal Chapel down to the 12th or 13th century. A strong argument for the assertion that the manuscripts in question contain the *vieux chant Romain* is the Alleluia verses which are taken from the psalms, sometimes in Greek, just as one finds them in the Paschal vespers in Andrieu's Ordo XXVII.

Leonine has no claim to be a formal mass book . . . It can evidently pretend to be no more than a body of materials brought together by a private hand." (Reprinted in *Liturgica Historica*, Oxford, 1918, p. 40.)

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, Eindhoven, 1929, pp. 37-49 and pp. 86-102.

<sup>30</sup> K. Mohlberg-A. Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum anni circuli d. röm. Kirche, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, Heft 11, 12, Münster, 1927; A. Baumstark, *Untersuchung*, Heft 12, p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> E. Bishop, *loc. cit.*, pp. 54-5. Bishop's ascription of the preface *Hucusque* and the Supplement to Alcuin is now generally accepted.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. note 1, pp. 4-9.

<sup>33</sup> Dom M. Huglo, *Le chant 'vieux-romain'. Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects*, in *Sacris Erudiri*, Vol. VI, 1 (1954), pp. 96-124. Cf. also B. Stäblein's articles *Zur Frühgeschichte d. röm. Chorals*, in *Atti del Congresso Internaz. di mus. sacra* 1950, and *Choral* in *MGG* II.



Our present so-called Gregorian Chant seems therefore to be a mixture of Roman, Gallican, and even Ambrosian elements, like the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*, a product of the Franconian renaissance.

This brings us to the role that Charlemagne and his liturgical and political adviser Alcuin played in the unification of Western liturgies and in the introduction of changes that had such a lasting effect on its shape.

The first steps in introducing the liturgy of the Papal court into the Franconian realm were taken by Pepin, Charlemagne's father. In 754 Pepin abolished the various Gallican rites by royal decree.<sup>34</sup> But he did not succeed in his object because Roman chant books were not available in sufficient numbers to replace the Gallican chant books. Charlemagne went a step further. He ordered the destruction of all books of the Ambrosian rite. But the resistance of the clergy prevented the drastic measure from being carried out successfully. Some of the manuscripts escaped destruction and Ambrosian Chant is still sung today in Milan, other parts of Northern Italy, and the Swiss canton Ticino.

In France, Charlemagne was more successful because he compromised. Since he could not impose the Roman liturgy by force, a new Sacramentary, of which we have spoken already, was introduced, a mixture of Roman and Gallican rites. This new Sacramentary was henceforth regarded as representing the authentic Roman liturgy.

When feasts peculiar to the Gallican rite were introduced, Gallican chants must also have been introduced in the Antiphonaries. We may suggest the end of the ninth century as the date for this new Roman-Gallican Antiphonary, because the fusion of the Roman and Gallican feasts and prayers in the Sacramentaries took place at that date.

We should not overlook the significance of the fact that Charlemagne introduced into his realm and into all the conquered pagan countries the Roman rite, with Latin as the liturgical language.

Latin replaced Greek in the fourth century, we know, because the population in Italy spoke Latin; it was their own language. But in the Franconian realm only the monks and the educated governing class understood Latin.<sup>35</sup> The congregation could no longer take part in the prayers and chants. The liturgical function of the clergy was separated

<sup>34</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *de rebus eccles.* 25, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Vol. 94, col. 956. See also T. Klauser, *Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der frankish-deutschen Kirche vom 8. bis zum 11. Jht.*, in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, LIII (1933), 169-89.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* I, 3rd ed., Vienna, 1952, pp. 106-7.

from that of the people.<sup>36</sup> Court ceremonial, formerly the prerogative of kings and princes, such as bending the knees<sup>37</sup> when the priest entered and kissing the hand of the bishop, was introduced. Low Mass began at this same time, and the allegorical interpretation of the Mass, which Amalar, Bishop of Metz, carried so far in his famous *Liber officialis*.<sup>38</sup>

The next step was that Charlemagne arrogated to himself authority in all ecclesiastical matters. Such a position had been held previously only by the Byzantine Emperor, who, in fact, in all secular affairs was controlled by the factions of the Blues and Greens, in ecclesiastical matters by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

It was one of the decisive events in the history of the West when Charlemagne came to Rome with his leading clergy and a large retinue of dignitaries to be crowned by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day 800 in the Vatican Basilica as Emperor of the Romans.<sup>39</sup>

The moment was well chosen. In 799 an attack had been made against the life of the Pope, who had been accused by a group of Roman patricians of the most scandalous crimes. Leo had fled to Paderborn to secure the assistance of Charlemagne and had returned to Rome in triumph. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI had been blinded and exiled by his mother, the Empress Irene. She was the first woman to be endowed with the supreme power and to reign as an autocrat. Her rule was opposed by the army, and it was the army that soon caused her fall.

In June 799 Alcuin of York, who was a great diplomat, wrote to King Charlemagne in a letter that there had been three persons who had counted in the world: the Pope, the Byzantine Emperor, and Charlemagne himself. "The welfare of the churches of Christ," he wrote, "rests now with you. You are the avenger of crimes, the leader of those who need guidance, the comfort of the sorrowing, the joy of the virtuous." ("Tu vindex scelerum, tu rector errantium, tu consolator maerentium, tu exaltatio bonorum.")<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* I, p. 110.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* I, pp. 306-16.

<sup>38</sup> I. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, Vol. II, *Liber officialis*, Rome, 1948, *Studi e Testi* 139. The title in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* Vol. 105, coll. 985-1242 is *De Ecclesiasticis officiis libri quatuor* which does not occur in the MSS. Cf. I. M. Hanssens, *Le texte du 'Liber officialis' d'Amalaire*, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 47 (1933) — 49 (1935).

<sup>39</sup> H. Dannenbauer, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen*, Berlin, 1931; see also E. Amman, *L'époque carolingienne*, *Histoire de l'église* 6, Paris, 1947, pp. 153-65.

<sup>40</sup> Alcuin, *Epist.* CLXXIV, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epistolae*, t. IV.

These words seem to have been a standing phrase: one finds similar lines in a poem by Bishop Theodulf, written in the same year:

Tutor opum es, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,  
Quaeque facis, fiunt haec moderante Deo.  
Arma es pontificum, spes et defensio cleri,  
Per te pontifices iura sacrata tenent.<sup>41</sup>

Alcuin himself had used virtually the same phrase when, in 796, he had congratulated Pope Leo III on his election and expressed the hope that: "Sub te pastore augeatur grex Christi. Tu consolator maerentium, adiutor laborantium, spes ad te clamantium, lux vitae, religionis decus."<sup>42</sup> Alcuin's hopes were not fulfilled. In the light of the events that followed the humiliation of Pope Leo, his flight, his re-instatement in power through Charlemagne, Alcuin's letter of 799 to his royal master is of particular importance. Yet, in fact, it is only a confirmation of the supreme authority in secular and ecclesiastical matters that Charlemagne already possessed in his realm. We may recall that he was greeted after the Council of Frankfort in 794 by the bishops in the thanksgiving prayers by the following acclamation:

Sit dominus et pater,  
sit rex et sacerdos  
sit omnium Christianorum moderantissimus gubernator.<sup>43</sup>

A last step, however, was necessary to break the hitherto unique position of the Byzantine Emperor as *cosmocrator*: the world had to be divided again into an Eastern and a Western Roman Empire. It was obviously Leo III who planned the coronation. It took place when Charlemagne visited Rome in December 800 in order to prosecute and punish those who had conspired against the life of the Pope. The coronation in St. Peter's on Christmas Day followed the ceremonial with which the Byzantine Emperors had been crowned for three hundred

<sup>41</sup> *Mon. Germ. Poet. Carol.* I, p. 523. "You are the protector of riches, the avenger of crimes, the bestower of honors, and the things you do are done with the guidance of God."

You are the arms of the priests, the hope and defense of the clergy, through you the priests hold their sacred rights."

<sup>42</sup> Alcuin, *Epist.* XCIV, *ibid.* *Epist.* t. IV, p. 139. "Under you as her shepherd, the flock of Christ will grow. You are the consoler of those who grieve, the help of those who labor, the hope of those who come to you complaining; the light of life, the ornament of religion."

<sup>43</sup> "May he be lord and father,  
May he be king and high priest,  
May he be the most prudent leader of all Christians."

Cf. E. H. Kantorowitz, *Laudes Regiae. University of California Publications in History*, Vol. 33, p. 70.

years. The King lay prostrate in prayer before the Pope. Then he rose and the Pope put the crown on his head and the Romans thrice hailed: "To Charles, crowned by God, most holy Emperor, great and peaceful ruler, life and victory."

The identical text of this acclamation is transmitted in the *Liber pontificalis* and in the *Annales regni Francorum*. The "life (and victory)" formula is of ancient Roman and not of Frankish origin.<sup>44</sup> It is the acclamation with which the Byzantine emperors were greeted (*Pollata etē tōn basileōn*) whenever they appeared in public; it is the formula of the *Laudes* by which Pope Leo III was acclaimed: *Leoni summo pontifici et universali pape vita!* (*Lib. pontif.* II, p. 37.)

After the crowning and the acclamation the Pope prostrated himself before the newly elected Emperor and paid him the "Adoratio." Hereafter a solemn Mass was celebrated during which the liturgical *Laudes* were sung by the clergy between the *Oratio* and the Lesson from the Epistle;<sup>45</sup> but it was the crowning by the Pope and the acclamation by the "faithful Romans" that made Charlemagne's coronation legally effective. The liturgical *Laudes* enhanced the splendor of the ceremony; they were not a constitutive part of the ceremony.

We must also keep the two groups of acclamations apart musically. The liturgical "laudes" may have been musically of the type of those of which Manfred Bukofzer has given examples in Appendix I to Kantorowitz's book on the *Laudes Regiae*. We may assume that they belonged to the standing repertory of the Papal Chapel.

The thrice proffered acclamations by the Romans, however, may have been either "shouts" similar to those with which the Romans used to greet their emperors, or elaborate cantillations, modelled on the Byzantine *acta* with which the factions of the Greens and the Blues greeted the Byzantine emperors. I am rather inclined to think that the Pope, who had prepared the ceremonial of the coronation and had modelled it in every detail on the Byzantine coronation ritual, must have decreed the exact wording of the acclamation and its chant. It is impossible to imagine that at an ecclesiastical ceremony of such importance anything was left to chance. The identical text of the acclamation, transmitted in the two sources mentioned above, excludes such a thought.

Let us bear in mind that to the Pope and the Romans the coronation

<sup>44</sup> See P. E. Schramm, *Die Anerkennung Karls des Grossen als Kaiser*, in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, CLXXII (1951), 467.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

meant the realization of a hope to which they had clung for centuries: the revival of the Roman Imperium. The question whether the coronation was sprung upon Charles as a surprise, as is often suggested, is not of great importance. Modern historians see in it the acknowledgment<sup>46</sup> of a situation that had existed *de facto* since Charles entered Rome in 774 for the first time and was received with the honors due to the Exarch of Ravenna, the representative of the Byzantine Emperor. He renewed Pepin's oath of friendship to St. Peter's, the Pope, and his successors of 754 in a document in which he promised *me protectorem ac defensorem esse*.<sup>47</sup> From that visit onwards Charles signs in all documents as Roman *patricius*, a title that now became a political reality. Consequently, particularly during the reign of Pope Hadrian, the relation between him and the papal court became closer and closer and resulted liturgically in the obligatory introduction of the Roman rite and the chant of the Papal Chapel in the Franconian realm.

From the beginning of the ninth century the papal court, on the other hand, aims at an *imitatio imperii*, and the residence of the popes, the *Patriarchium Lateranense*, is now called *Palatium Lateranense*.<sup>48</sup>

After the coronation, and back in his own country, Charlemagne, though, according to Pope Sergius II, having united Romans and Franks into an Empire,<sup>49</sup> acts as King of the Franks and protector of the Romans. In 813 he makes his son co-regent; but now the coronation takes place in the heart of the Franconian realm and it is Charles himself who, in the presence of the clergy and his dignitaries, sets the crown of the Holy Roman Empire on the head of his son. Here, among the Franks, Charlemagne is again "Lord and father," "King and Priest," and "the most judicious Ruler of all Christians," as he had been addressed in 794 by the bishops at Frankfort.

Rome has become the center of Christianity for him and the title Emperor has lost its secular significance; it has become the acknowledgment of the King functioning on earth as *Imperator christianus*.

This interpretation of the imperial power which gradually developed in Charlemagne finds its expression in the title of a letter that he sent in 813 to the Byzantine Emperor Michael I, whom he addresses as brother:

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Karolus divina largiente gratia Imperator

<sup>46</sup> P. E. Schramm therefore speaks in his latest article (see note 44) of "acknowledgment" of Charlemagne as Emperor, not of his "crowning."

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 453.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>49</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.* V, p. 583.

et Augustus idemque Rex Francorum et Langobardorum dilecto et honorabili fratri Michaeli glorioso Imperatori et Augusto aeternam in Domino nostro Iesu Christo salutem.<sup>50</sup>

Charlemagne's conception of the Roman Emperor as *Imperator et sacerdos* strongly influenced the ceremonial of the liturgy. It has left its marks indeed until the present day. The service in Latin is one of the most precious possessions of the Catholic Church; but one can understand the present very strong movement among the clergy in Italy and the German-speaking countries to introduce the vernacular in parish churches. It may be argued that this is only what Saint Ambrose and Pope Damasus did, in order to enable the congregation to take part in the prayers and action of the Mass. There is no doubt, however, that the replacement of Latin in High Mass by the vernacular would mean the end of a tradition that for more than fifteen hundred years has linked together all Roman Catholics in the Service by a common tongue, and would be the end of plainchant as we cherish it.<sup>51</sup>

Finally a word about the various theories of the rhythmical interpretation of plainchant.

Is it sung today as it was sung in the days of Gregory the Great, as Dom Mocquereau believed when he chose the rhythmical neumatic notation of Codex Hartker as a model for his interpretation?

We do not know, because we have no MS with neumes earlier than the eighth century; but the school of Solesmes has created a tradition of good phrasing and singing which is now generally accepted and represents at any rate a method of singing that the papal Schola Cantorum may have used in the 10th century, the date of the Codex Hartker of St. Gall.

It is quite possible that at a later date more extended rhythmical nuances were introduced, that the accompaniment by sustained notes on the organ had an influence on the performance by slowing down the tempo. But such considerations cannot be used as an argument to influence or to change our method of performance.

<sup>50</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.* IV, p. 556. "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Charles, by the grace of God ruler and emperor and likewise king of the Franks and Lombards, wishes for his beloved and honorable brother Michael, ruler and emperor, eternal welfare in Jesus Christ, our Lord."

<sup>51</sup> At the Congress of Catholic Church Music in Vienna in October 1954 German and Austrian representatives of the movement argued strongly in favor of introducing the vernacular even into High Mass; but neither the music they sang, nor their arguments seem to have impressed the majority of the clergy and laymen who attended the Congress.

The followers of a measured interpretation differ so widely in their various theories that it would be unwise to accept any of these. The Benedictines of Solesmes have led in the revival of plainchant for almost a hundred years; they have patiently widened the field and have now come to unexpected new conclusions which may finally make it necessary to rewrite the history of Western Chant on entirely new lines.

As long as we considered Gregorian, Ambrosian, Beneventan, Gallican, and Mozarabic Chant as melodies that were handed down virtually unchanged from generation to generation, we worked in a dangerous isolation from the facts with which we were provided by the history of the liturgy.

We shall succeed in our studies when we learn to treat liturgical chant as an integral part of the liturgy and draw our conclusions about its musical function only when we have come to understand the spirit of the liturgy to which, at one moment of its history, each of the forms of the chant belonged.

# THE STUDY OF MUSIC AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN THE RENAISSANCE (1450-1600)<sup>1</sup>

By NAN COOKE CARPENTER

FROM 1431, when Boethius's *Musica* was required for the *magisterium in artibus*, no new statutes were promulgated for the University of Oxford until the period of the Reformation. According to the code established in 1549 during King Edward's Visitation of Oxford, candidates for the bachelor's degree were to concentrate on disciplines of the quadrivium the first year; and, following the medieval tradition, music was probably to be understood here, although it is not specifically mentioned. Statutes drawn up in 1556 during the reign of Mary and the chancellorship of Reginald Pole dealt chiefly with administrative affairs and did not touch upon the curriculum. But the Elizabethan Statutes, the *Nova Statuta* of 1564/5, "set out afresh the rules for reading, disputations and degrees . . . reverting apparently to the old ideas which the Edwardian Statutes had varied."<sup>2</sup> The *forma* to be fulfilled before attaining the baccalaureate (based upon the liberal arts and the three philosophies) specified four years (sixteen terms) in grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, and *in musica Boetium*, giving the length of time to be spent in each; and not only were undergraduates to hear lectures in music, but also bachelors studying for the master's degree: for during the three additional years leading to the *magisterium*, "they will observe the ancient statutes, which were accustomed to be

<sup>1</sup> This is a section from a larger work now in preparation, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*. For details about Oxford in the medieval period, see *The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Middle Ages (to 1450)*, in *Journal of Research in Music Education*, I (1953), 11-20. See also *The Study of Music at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages*, *ibid.*, II (1954).

I am greatly indebted to Miss Jeannette Fellheimer for checking these notes in the Yale Library and to the Committee on Research, Montana State University, for subsidizing this checking.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, London, 1924, II, 120.



observed by the masters of art."<sup>3</sup> The Caroline Code established by Archbishop Laud under the authority of King Charles (1636) named no books to be read, but it did make attendance at public lectures obligatory for both bachelors and masters. By this time the music lecture had been in existence for ten years; and the Laudian Statutes further decreed that students below the grade of master take the lectures down in writing. As in present-day Oxford, moreover, each student was to be instructed by his own tutor until he had obtained his first degree; this is of interest to us because the musical careers of some students were undoubtedly shaped by their having capable musicians for tutors, as was the case with Richard Edwards and his tutor, the distinguished Greek scholar and musician, George Etheridge.

The 16th century saw the foundation of public lectureships (beginning with Lady Margaret's Lecture in Divinity, 1502) in law, medicine, and theology; but in the arts faculty the regent masters continued to carry out the ordinary lectures. With the increase in the number of regents, however, there was a tendency to deputize certain *magistri* as *publici praelectores* and to exempt others from the duty of lecturing.<sup>4</sup> A *lectorum ordinarium designatio* of 1563 gives the names of three men lecturing on music: Robert Leche, John Reve, and John Foux.<sup>5</sup> In 1592, when the queen visited Oxford, it was decided that ordinary lectures in the three philosophies and seven liberal arts be read as usual during Her Majesty's stay: Mr. Pelling was the lecturer in music.

The fact that occasional dispensations were granted in connection with the music lecture shows that ordinarily these lectures were regularly given, even during the Edwardian period when music was not specifically mentioned in the statutes as a part of the formal curriculum. In several years from 1562 to 1597 there were no students or not enough students to warrant the lecture. In 1579/80 Johannes Lant, *publicus musicae praelector*, asked for release from lecturing, requesting that his students be transferred to arithmetic because of the greater usefulness of the latter — a dispensation that was granted.<sup>6</sup> In 1582/3 Matthew Gwin was allowed to dispense with lecturing in music not only because "suitable books to read are found with difficulty" but

<sup>3</sup> Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta antiqua Vniuersitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 390, 378.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, Oxford, 1885-89, II, Part 1, 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Part 1, 97. According to Clark (I, 228, 217-18), these men were bachelors of arts (all three) and masters of arts (Leche and Reve).

<sup>6</sup> Clark, *Register*, II, Part 1, 100.

also because "the practice of this science, although not useless, is thought to be uncommon." And in 1599 when two students were summoned before the convocation, their excuse for non-attendance was unanswerable: "They said the Praelector had not lectured, as he had been dispensed from that duty."<sup>7</sup> William Harrison, one-time student at both Oxford and Cambridge, stated in his *Description of England* (c. 1577) that the universities allowed "competent stipends" to those lecturing in philosophy and the arts, although the "quadrivials" were "smallie regarded" at that time.<sup>8</sup>

Neglect of academic duties was by no means confined to the music lecturer, if we may believe contemporary documents. Anthony à Wood, for example, quotes a letter of 1582 from the then chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, berating the university for various disorders, chiefly neglect of duties: "The Q. Readers of Greek and Hebrue are plainlye said to read seldome or never. The Physick, Law, and Divinity Readers few times, and very negligently when they do read. The Lady Margaret's Lecture is read in like sort. The Schoole Lectures worse, and almost only pro forma to no purpose. The hearers at most Lectures few, at some none."<sup>9</sup> In 1590 the new chancellor, Christopher Hatton, wrote at length about abuses in the university — looseness of dress, neglect of lecturing, failure to speak Latin, and the like.<sup>10</sup>

In 1596 by terms of the will of Sir Thomas Gresham a series of lectures was established for the City of London — "divers Lectures in sundry Faculties to bee professed and publiquely red . . . namely of Divinitie, Law, Phisick, Geometrie, Astronomie, Rhetorique and Musick"; and both Oxford and Cambridge were invited to nominate candidates for the positions, with fifty pounds a year "in perpetuitie" for each professor.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Gifford and Mr. Newton were Oxford's candidates for the position.<sup>12</sup> Dr. John Bull of Cambridge, however, was appointed "upon the special recommendation of queen Elizabeth"; and although Bull was a skillful musician,

it seems that he was not able to read his lectures in Latin; and therefore, by a special provision in the ordinances respecting the Gresham professors, made anno

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Part 1, 10.

<sup>8</sup> William Harrison, *Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, London, 1877, Part I, Book 2, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> See his *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. and tr. John Gutch, London, 1792-96, II, 212-14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 241 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 262.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 263: "And lastly for Music - - - Gifford, - - - of - - - and - - - Newton." I cannot find that these men were musicians.

1597, it is declared, that because Dr. Bull is recommended to the place of music professor by the queen's most excellent majesty, being not able to speak Latin, his lectures are permitted to be altogether in English, so long as he shall continue music professor there.<sup>13</sup>

A public lectureship with musical implications was founded at Oxford in 1619 when Henry Saville, "perceiving that mathematical studies be neglected by our men," established "two lectures or public demonstrations in mathematical science, one in geometry, the other in astronomy"; a part of the duty of the geometry lecturer was to teach and explain "arithmetic, as much theoretical as practical, of every type, geodisy or practical geometry, law or music, and mechanics."<sup>14</sup> According to the wishes of the founder, all students were to attend these lectures from the end of their second year to the first year of their baccalaureate. By the terms of the Laudian Code (1636), the Savillian Professor of Geometry was to lecture twice a week.

Less than a decade after the founding of the mathematics lectureship, William Heather established at Oxford a professorship in music (1626) embracing both aspects of music's dichotomy traditional since medieval times: that is, the endowment specifically provided for both the practice and the theory of music. As to the first of these, Heather's statutes, confirmed by the university in convocation, are quite definite:

Inprimis, that the exercise of Musicke bee constantly kept every weeke on Thursday in the afternoone: Afternoones in Lent excepted.

Secondly I appoint M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson the nowe Organist of Mag: Colledge to bee the Master of the Musicke, and to take charge of the Instrumentes . . .

Thirddie I doe ordaine that the said Master bringe with him two boyes weekly at the day and time aforesaid, and there to receaue such Company as will practise Musicke and to play Lessons of Three partes if none other come.

Lastlie I ordaine that once every yeare the Instrumentes bee viewed and the bookes: And that neyther of these bee lent abroade vppon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed.<sup>15</sup>

Heather's interest in the care of books and instruments was quite natural, for besides endowing the professorship he himself "gave an Harpsycon, Chest of Viols, divers Music books, both printed and written" to the

<sup>13</sup> Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London, 1776, III, 318-19. The erudite Hawkins continues, "In this instance it seems that the queen's affection for Bull got the better of her judgment, for not being able to speak Latin, it may be presumed that he was unable to read it; and if so, he must have been ignorant of the very principles of the science, and consequently but very indifferently qualified to lecture on it even in English."

<sup>14</sup> Gibson, *Statuta*, pp. 528-29.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

music school.<sup>16</sup> In addition to his annuity for maintaining at Oxford "one able and fitt man, who shalbee called the Musick Master, to plaie and exercise Musick with twoe boyes in his Companie," Heather included in his endowment three pounds annually "for and towards the maintenance within the said Vniversitie of Oxon of one able and fitt man who shall lecture and read the Theorie of Musick once euery tearme or oftner."<sup>17</sup> The stipend was later increased by forty-five shillings, and it was decided to give the lectures in English.<sup>18</sup> The Laudian Code placed the music lecture among the public lectures, but made no requirement about attendance beyond the general requirement already noted. According to these statutes, the speech at Vesperies during Act time was to be delivered in English with interpolated instrumental music.<sup>19</sup>

The theoretical part of the Music Professorship, in fact, eventually became a part of the Music Act at Commencement. Wood tells us that the first and last lecturer "for the said Theory part" was John Allibond of Magdalen, "who read it for a year or thereabouts"; afterwards, none undertook it and "the said small sum" which went with the office was allotted "to him that should speech it at the Act time in the Musick School."<sup>20</sup> It is significant that Dr. Heather chose John Allibond, a *magister artium*, rather than a musician, as the first lecturer in music, thus maintaining the traditional connection between mathematics and music. Subsequent speakers on music at Act time continued to be chosen from among candidates proceeding to the master's degree.<sup>21</sup>

One unique circumstance connected with the study of music in the English universities was the award of the baccalaureate and doctorate in music by Oxford and Cambridge, traditional since the 15th century. Admission to the bachelor's degree in music gave the candidate the

<sup>16</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 887.

<sup>17</sup> Gibson, *Statuta*, p. 558.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 557: "These lectures were read in English at the time of the public assemblies in the university, in order that they might be understood by those who arrived not understanding well enough the Latin language, in which they were read." Wood's interpretation of this is a bit different, recalling Dr. Bull's ignorance of Latin: "whereas this Lecture in the University is usually read in Lattin; at the Act time especially the Reader may expound the principall points of this Lecture in English, because divers skilful Musitians are not so well acquainted with the Lattin Tongue as University men" (*History and Antiquities*, II, 359).

<sup>19</sup> Griffiths, *Laudian Code*, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 358.

<sup>21</sup> C. F. Abdy Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge*, London, 1894, pp. 30-31.

right to lecture in "any of the Musical Books of *Boethius*,"<sup>22</sup> probably because of the place of Boethius in the statute books and the fact that graduates in music should be qualified to lecture on this authoritative work. Although the earliest record of the granting of such an award comes from 1502, when Henry Parker, "eminent in these times for his Compositions in Vocal and Instrumental Musick," was made bachelor of music, Oxford evidently granted the degree before that time, for in 1502 Robert Wydow was incorporated at Cambridge as a bachelor of music from Oxford where he must have taken his degree sometime earlier.<sup>23</sup> There is no indication that candidates for the music degree had first to be bachelors of arts, although some candidates held the latter degree. Throughout the 16th century some were admitted to the degree unconditionally, most of them described by Wood as already eminent in the musical profession, and others supplicated for the degree, but it is not known whether they obtained it. Wood tells us that the records around 1550 are very imperfect, and he complains of the neglect of the public register by the scribe "who was afterwards deservedly turn'd out of his place."<sup>24</sup>

Supplications for the musical degree generally emphasize the traditional dichotomy in musical studies by requiring the composition of polyphonic music as well as a certain length of time to be spent in learning the theory of music. The first known instance of the award of the baccalaureate in music upon the fulfillment of certain conditions dates from 16 February 1506/7 when the supplication of Richard Ede, "canonicus regularis et scholaris musice," who had spent ten years studying music *extra universitatem*, was passed on condition that he compose a Mass and antiphon to be sung on the day of admission to the degree.<sup>25</sup> John Charde, 1518/9, having studied music for sixteen years, was required to compose a five-part Mass for his bachelor's degree, the first requirement in so many parts.<sup>26</sup> Robert Stevenson, 1587, however, holds the record for length of time spent in the study of music prior to attaining the baccalaureate — thirty-three years: he was admitted bachelor of arts at the same time.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Fasti*, in the *Athenae Oxonienses*, London, 1691, I, 639.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, and see, for the incorporation, *Grace Book Gamma*, ed. William George Searle, Cambridge, 1908, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> *Fasti*, I, 704. For a convenient listing of all Oxford graduates in music with biographical data about each, see Williams, *Degrees in Music*, pp. 64 ff. (The list is compiled largely from Wood's *Fasti*.)

<sup>25</sup> Gibson, *Statuta*, p. xciii.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Degrees in Music*, p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, I, 758.

Many of the Oxford bachelors of music in the 16th and early 17th centuries held, either at the time of the baccalaureate or later, important posts as organists: among these, Nathaniel Giles (1585) was organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and later at the Chapel Royal; John Bull (1586), at Hereford Cathedral in 1582 and at the Chapel Royal in 1591; John Munday (1586), Merbecke's successor at Windsor in 1585; George Waterhouse (1592), at Lincoln Cathedral; Edward Gibbons (1592), at Bristol Cathedral; Arthur Cocke (1593), at Exeter Cathedral; Thomas Weelkes (1602), at Winchester College; and others later in the century. Further, at Oxford the "first Professor of the Musical Praxis was Richard Nicholson, Bachelaur of Music, and Organist of Magdalen College"; and apparently Nicholson was Master of the Music until his death because his successor, Arthur Philipps, Wood tells us, was "elected on the death of Mr. Nicholson Nov. 18, an. 1639, and the next year Jul. 9, was admitted Bachelaur of Music."<sup>28</sup> Mr. Heather, founder of the Music Lecture, was an organist of the Chapel Royal. In addition to these organists — most of them composers as well — many other men responsible for the great flowering of music in Renaissance England held the Oxford bachelor's degree in music: Thomas Morley (1588), John Dowland (1588), Giles Farnaby (1592), Francis Pilkington (1595), Robert Jones (1597), Thomas Tomkins (1607), and Richard Deering (1612).

The first record of an Oxford doctorate in music comes from 1511, when Robert Fairfax was incorporated doctor of music from Cambridge.<sup>29</sup> A few years later (1515),

*Robert Perrot* Bach. of Musick, and about this time Organist of *Magd. College*, supplicated that he might be licensed to proceed in the said Faculty. — His request was granted conditionally that he compose a Mass and one Song, before he really proceed, or stand in the *Comitia* . . . This *Robert Perrot* . . . was an eminent Musitian of his time, and did compose several Church Services and other Matters, which have been since antiquated.<sup>30</sup>

Before the end of the century, four others had become inceptors or doctors of music—John Gwyneth (1531), John Merbecke (1550), John Sheppard (1554), and Robert Stevenson (1596); and in the early years of the next century, three others received the coveted Oxford doctorate:

<sup>28</sup> *History and Antiquities*, II, 893.

<sup>29</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, I, 652. For the facts of Fairfax's life, together with a catalogue and description of his works, see Dom Anselm Hughes, *An Introduction to Fayrfax*, in *Musica Disciplina*, VI (1952), 83-104.

<sup>30</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, I, 656.

Orlando Gibbons and Nathaniel Giles (1622) and John Munday (1624). Of these, Giles, Munday, and Stevenson had previously proceeded bachelor of music at Oxford, whereas Robert Porret (as his name usually appears) and Orlando Gibbons had received the same degree at Cambridge. In addition to Robert Fairfax, Christopher Tye (1548) and John Bull (1592) were incorporated at Oxford as doctors of music from Cambridge, both having previously graduated bachelor of music, Tye at Cambridge (1536) and Bull at Oxford (1586).

William Heather was the first to accumulate both degrees—bachelor and doctor—at one time (1622). A professional musician and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Heather may have been awarded these degrees (honorary) because of his activities with William Camden in founding the History Lectureship.<sup>31</sup> Heather's commencement composition is said to have been written by Orlando Gibbons, possibly the anthem, *O clap your hands*; and according to a reliable source, Gibbons's doctorate was also honorary, to accompany Dr. Heather.<sup>32</sup> In 1629 Matthew White accumulated the two degrees, having been organist at Christ Church, Oxford, and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

It is significant for the scholarly background of English musicians that several men who followed musical careers studied the arts or in one of the higher faculties at Oxford without taking a degree in music, especially in the early part of the 16th century. One of these was the composer Hugh Ashton, bachelor and master of arts, 1505 and 1507, bachelor of canon law (Cambridge), 1507, and possibly a supplicant for the bachelor of music degree at Oxford in 1510.<sup>33</sup> Ashton, whose *Hornpipe* is perhaps his best known piece, is especially important in the history of instrumental music for his introduction of a florid type of keyboard music particularly suited to the instrument for which it was written (as opposed to the transference of vocal music to a keyboard instrument)—an innovation that laid the foundation for the brilliant fantasias and variations of Byrd, Bull, and others later in the century. Thomas Tallis is probably identical with the "thomas Talley" who

<sup>31</sup> See the letter from Piers to Camden, Hawkins, *History of Music*, IV, 31, note.

<sup>32</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, I, 842: "However the Song of 6 parts of more, which was performed in the *Act. for Will. Heather*, was composed by him [Orlando Gibbons], as one or more eminent Musicians then living have several times told me." According to Piers's letter to Camden (Hawkins, *History of Music*, IV, 31, note), "We have made Mr. Heather a doctor in music; so that now he is no more Master, but Doctor Heather; the like honour for your sake we have conferred upon Mr. Orlando Gibbons, and made him a doctor too, to accompany Dr. Heather."

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, Oxford & London, 1892, I, 39.



became bachelor of arts in 1528, master of arts in 1531.<sup>34</sup> And Richard Edwards, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1563, especially gifted in the writing of plays for performance at court and elsewhere, proceeded master of arts in 1547.<sup>35</sup>

During the Renaissance the taking of a university degree involved the same elaborate and expensive ceremonies as in medieval times. Statutes of 1601/2 contain a list of fees imposed upon candidates for graduation; and many items here refer to musical degrees, placed quite definitely with degrees in the three higher faculties. The bachelor of music, for instance, must pay the same for his grace (twelve pence) as the bachelor of theology, law, or medicine. And "Fees to be payde vnto the Beedle of Divinitye by the Esquyer Beedle of Artes" include specified amounts from doctors and bachelors of music as well as candidates in this faculty incorporating from another university.<sup>36</sup> In addition, each *baccalaureus in musica* owes certain amounts for various commencement requirements and to various university officials, the largest item being *pro vino*, "if he was honored or if he had an inheritance."<sup>37</sup> The same set of fees owed by the *doctor in musica* is much greater; besides, he must give a banquet for the vice-chancellor, *regius professor*, proctors, registrar, and beadles of his faculty, and he must present gloves or the sum of three shillings to the beadles.<sup>38</sup> Fees for the *baccalaureus in musica incorporandus* and *doctor in musica incorporandus* are similar to those in these lists.

The Laudian Statutes of 1636 are equally exact with regard to other aspects of the musical degrees. According to this code, a candidate for the baccalaureate in music must swear that he has spent seven years in the study and practice of music, and must compose and produce a five-part composition.<sup>39</sup> And to become an inceptor or doctor of music, the candidate must have spent five years in the study or practice of music after the baccalaureate and must present a composition in six or eight parts.<sup>40</sup> The Laudian Code also gives the form by which a grace might be requested. When the bachelor was ready for inception, his grace was to be proposed by the Heather lecturer; and when the grace was granted, he was to be presented for the degree by one of the Savillian professors

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 1455.

<sup>35</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, I, 118.

<sup>36</sup> Gibson, *Statuta*, p. 467.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 475.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

<sup>39</sup> Griffiths, *Laudian Code*, p. 59.



or by their deputy, a master of arts. At the Act, the candidate's composition was to be performed. And the candidate was to be created doctor by one of the Savillian professors if one of them were a doctor; if not, one of them might assume doctoral dress for the occasion.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the strictly formal and academic aspects, all completely regularized by the 17th century, musical preoccupations of the various colleges add to our understanding of musical studies at Oxford. As in medieval Oxford, statutes of certain colleges during the Renaissance show a strong emphasis upon musical activities, especially Masses for the souls of the founders. A document of 20 November 1504<sup>42</sup> describes in great detail how an annual celebration "be holden and kept" for the "good and prosperous estate of the said kyng oure soverayne duryng his lif," for the souls of his wife, children, father, mother, "and all Christian soules." Decreeing that "the Chaunceler, maisters and scolers graduat . . . with the hoole congregacion of regentes and non regentes of the said vniuersite, shall in the evyn next before the day of euery suche anniuersarie solempnely with note syng Placebo and Dirige with nyne lessons and laudes," this document gives details of procedure. Further, the requiem Mass is to be "songen or saied" at each anniversary; and the bells of the university are to be "solempnely rongen." In 1535/6 as a memorial to the establishment by Parliament of "Kyng Henry the eighth his lecture" at Oxford, it was decreed that two Masses annually "be there solempnelye songe," one "of the Holye Trynyte" and the other "of tholye Gooste," with a requiem Mass after the king's decease.<sup>43</sup> Even though the custom of singing perpetual Masses for the souls of founders and benefactors disappeared with the Reformation, many of the colleges maintained choir-schools throughout the century. Choristers supported by these foundations received a thorough grounding in *cantus planus* and in "pricksong" and later these youths were preferred when vacancies occurred in the university scholarship lists. Wood tells us that "one John Atkins who became Fellow of Merton College an. 1467 is stiled in the Album of the Fellows of that House 'Nobilis Musicus,' having been accounted in his time very famous for that Faculty, and especially for the public Exercises he performed therein in the University."<sup>44</sup>

Statutes given to Magdalen College (1479) by the founder, William

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Gibson, *Statuta*, pp. 310-20.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>44</sup> *History and Antiquities*, II, 722.

Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, provided for four priests, eight chaplains, and sixteen choristers to celebrate divine service, the priests and clerics to be "instructed at least adequately in chant and reading."<sup>45</sup> One of these was to be appointed *cantor* by the president, a man "learned in chant, in order to instruct the choristers in plainchant and in other song," but the president might call in an outsider if no one so qualified could be found in the college; and Magdalen was also to include among its members thirty poor students called *Demyes* "competently instructed in reading and in plainchant."<sup>46</sup> Magdalen's choir school, indeed, has an especially honorable history in the production of distinguished musicians; and of those who received degrees in music at Oxford during our period, Nathaniel Giles and Thomas Tomkins were trained as choristers in Magdalen's beautiful chapel, and John Mason, Robert Porret, and John Shepherd held the position of *instructor choristarum* in this college.<sup>47</sup> Years later (1579) Simon Perot, alias Parret, left money to be distributed among Magdalen's fellows at the annual commencement, five shillings fourpence to the choristers and one shilling fourpence "to be given to the Organist or Master of the said Choristers because Robert Perot, alias Parret, father of the said Simon, did sometime undergo that office."<sup>48</sup>

Statutes drawn up by Richard Fox, founder of Corpus Christi College (1517) provided for four ministers in the chapel, one of them to be *chori praecentor* and to have charge of all matters "quae ad Praecentoris officium attinent."<sup>49</sup> There were also to be two choristers trained in music, studying grammar and *bonos auctores* either at Corpus Christi or at Magdalen.<sup>50</sup>

Cardinal Wolsey's elaborate foundation, Cardinal College (1525: statutes revised by Wolsey in 1527), had among its membership sixty senior and forty petty canons, the former "competently instructed in plainchant"; other musical members included thirteen priests and twelve clerics, as well as sixteen choirboys with their instructor. These *chorustae*, chosen for their musical talents, were to become minor canons when their voices changed.<sup>51</sup> Wood, in fact, credits Wolsey with having inspired

<sup>45</sup> *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, Oxford, 1853-55, II, "Magdalen College," 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 24.

<sup>47</sup> For information about these and other Oxford musicians, see Williams, *Degrees in Music*, *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, III, 314.

<sup>49</sup> *Oxford College Statutes*, II, "Corpus Christi College," 37.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 38.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 38, 49.

new interest in music: "at the coming of the noble generous Wolsey . . . Musick flourished, and Degrees were also oftner taken in it than before."<sup>52</sup> But the prelate's lavish foundation lasted only five years (until 1530): "for when the Cardinall, by the Law of Praemunire, fell into the King's danger, his Colledge alsoe fell with him, as beeing loose, and not by Law settled and established."<sup>53</sup> Cardinal College was superseded by Henry VIII's College (1532, afterwards Christ Church), a strictly ecclesiastical foundation which had on its staff a vicar to be *precentor* in charge of all the singing; and another vicar, "more skilled in handing down grammar and chant" than the rest, was to be the choristers' instructor.<sup>54</sup> Foundation statutes required of the members of the college a knowledge of instruments as well as plainsong: no one was to be admitted as vicar, clerk, or chorister "unless he is competent in keeping time [*? modulandi*] and has an instrument and an adequate knowledge of chant"<sup>55</sup>—possibly a reflection of the king's own well-known musical interests and talents.

St. John's College, too, founded in 1555 by Sir Thomas White, provided for scholars and clerics "at least adequately instructed in plainchant," one of them to act as *precentor*, and for six choristers.<sup>56</sup> As in other foundations, the choristers here were to be instructed in both plainsong and "pricksong" and they were to remain in the college until their voices changed. They were also to be preferred for scholarships in the college when vacancies occurred, "if they behave well."<sup>57</sup>

We have many more records of organists maintained by various Oxford colleges during the Renaissance than in the Middle Ages. For example, Cardinal Wolsey specifically ordained that one of the twelve *clerici* in his college be "a wise and experienced organ-player."<sup>58</sup> Nor was this an empty wish: the cardinal actually chose a man truly wise and experienced when he made John Taverner organist of his college. Moreover, when "John Taverner the Organist" was accused of participating in a Lutheran controversy at Oxford in 1528, "the Cardinal pleaded for him, saying that he was but a Musitian, and thought that no great harm

<sup>52</sup> *History and Antiquities*, II, 79.

<sup>53</sup> Leonard Hutten (1557?-1632), *Antiquities of Oxford*, in *Elizabethan Oxford, Reprints of Rare Tracts*, ed. Charles Plummer, Oxford, 1887, p. 59.

<sup>54</sup> *Oxford College Statutes*, II, "Henry VIII.th's College," 192-94.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 193.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, III, "St. John's College," 27, 41.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 42.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, II, "Cardinal College," 51.

might be done by him."<sup>59</sup> St. John's Statutes, too, called for various ministers, one of whom was to be the organ-player: John Frith held this position at St. John's when he became bachelor of music in 1626.<sup>60</sup> Trinity College (1556) ruled that one scholar "experienced in playing the organ" be admitted to play it "on feast days and in other divine offices according to the custom in the churches."<sup>61</sup> And we know that All Souls had an organist as early as 1458, for a document of that year tells how the All Souls organist was convicted of adultery, spent three hours in jail, and was freed when the warden of the college spoke a good word for him.<sup>62</sup> William Stonard was organist of Christ Church when he was graduated bachelor of music, 1608; and he appears to have been university organist later, for a document of 1624, *De organista et eius stipendio*, mentions a *magister* Stonard as holding that position.<sup>63</sup> Robert Porret, we recall, was organist of Magdalen College when he proceeded doctor of music in 1515, and Richard Nicholson held this position when he was appointed Heather Lecturer in Music, 1626.

Musical instruction was thus compulsory for a large corps of junior members of the university—and was undoubtedly available to many others; it was given by musicians who held positions as organist and choirmaster in the colleges; and occasionally other members of the university taught music privately. Richard Edwards, for one, admitted to Corpus Christi in 1540 under the tutelage of George Etheridge, professor of Greek at Oxford, is said to have studied music with Etheridge, "a noted Mathematician, well skill'd in vocal and instrumental Musick, an eminent Hebrician, Grecian, and Poet, and above all an excellent Physician."<sup>64</sup> And Lord Edward Herbert, writing in 1598/9, says of his life at Oxford,

During this time of living in the University . . . I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching . . . and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceed-

<sup>59</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 31.

<sup>60</sup> *Oxford College Statutes*, III, "St. John's College," 41; Williams, *Degrees in Music*, p. 79.

<sup>61</sup> *Oxford College Statutes*, IV, "Trinity College," 26.

<sup>62</sup> Henry Anstey, *Munimenta academica*, London, 1868, II, 674-75.

<sup>63</sup> Wood, *Fasti*, I, 801; Gibson, *Statuta*, p. 555.

<sup>64</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, I, 117, 191.

ingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I obserbed [*sic*] in those times much ill example and debauchery.<sup>65</sup>

There are numerous indications that other Oxford students besides Lord Herbert cultivated music for its recreational powers—first of all, prohibitions of one kind or another. Statutes of Corpus Christi (1517) legislated against dancing, singing, and playing upon musical instruments at times of study or sleep; and Brasenose statutes (1521) similarly prohibited noises—song and instrumental music included—that might impede study or sleep. A unique item in All Souls' Ordinances of the Royal Visitors, 1549, allowed *rusticam musicam* as a warning that the town was on fire, *rustica musica* being about as euphonious as Bottom's tongs and bones.

Such prohibitions imply that it was not unusual for Oxford students to own and play musical instruments, and other documents confirm this fact. Oxford had its own harp maker (that is, an artisan who made stringed instruments), for Robert "Harpemaker" figures in certain records of 1452: here Robert promises that "he will not trouble Magister Johannes Van, nor any other who is serving the University, during his imprisonment"; and "idem Robertus Harper" is warned against going to the home of Joan Fytz-John at unseasonable times.<sup>66</sup> Apparently the harp-maker did not abide by the warnings, and records dated a few weeks later remind us of the unfortunate All Souls organist, for they say that "Robert Smyth, alias Harpmaker, of 'Candich,' suspected of adultery with Joan Fytz-John, . . . renounced the company of this same Joan."<sup>67</sup> An inventory of the goods of Sir John Lydbery, 1462, includes "*Item, a lewt, pretium vjd*" and the inventory of the goods of John Hosear, 1463, contains "*Item, an harpe, ivd*"<sup>68</sup>—both records indicating that musical instruments were considered valuable enough to merit formal appraisal. Another record indicates that in 1486 there was an organ-maker named Edward Wotton active in Oxford.<sup>69</sup> In 1595 a committee to investigate carriers (*de tabellariis*) decided that carriers might charge for transporting goods between Oxford and London the same "for lutes and virginalls as in former years"<sup>70</sup>—indicating that the importation of these instruments from London was quite customary.

<sup>65</sup> Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, *Autobiography*, ed. Sidney Lee, London & New York, 1906, p. 23.

<sup>66</sup> Anstey, *Munimenta academica*, II, 626-27.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 633.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 698, 705.

<sup>69</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, I, 643.

<sup>70</sup> Clark, *Register*, II, Part 1, 319.

One important aspect of the cultivation of music at Oxford was its use in plays presented in various colleges, plays that not only employed collegiate choristers but were often embellished by music composed for the occasion by members of the university. Magdalen College, perennially distinguished for its musical contributions, appears to have been especially active in producing these entertainments, and several records of payments to choristers and musicians who helped in the production of liturgical dramas in the late 15th and early 16th centuries are significant of the importance of music in these performances.<sup>71</sup>

Of university men who furnished music for academic drama, John Burgess, B.A., was paid five shillings for music to embellish a miracle play on Mary Magdalene, and eightpence was given a man who brought some songs from Edward Martyn, M.A. Especially interesting for our study is the record of the performance at Oxford (c. 1540) of a play by Nicholas Grimald, *De puerorum in musicis institutione*, unfortunately no longer extant, which, in spite of its Latin title, was one of the first academic plays written in English.<sup>72</sup> Richard Edwards, in his plays performed at Christ Church (*Palamon and Arcyte*, 1566, and *Damon and Pythias*, 1567/8), was perhaps the first playwright to use music dramatically, to heighten tragic climaxes with music.<sup>73</sup> William Gager also introduced music in his plays produced at Christ Church later in the century—*Dido*, 1586, and *Ulysses redux*, 1591/2; in fact, the part of the minstrel Phemius in the latter play was taken by "the Master of owre Choristers."<sup>74</sup> Gager, unlike Edwards, apparently did not compose his own music.

Edwards's *Palamon and Arcyte* received far more attention than its author could ever have anticipated, for it was performed in two parts before Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of a royal progress to Oxford in 1566, during the first night of which a well and stairway collapsed, killing three men. In accounts of the queen's visit there are descriptions of other musical activities in honor of Her Majesty. When the queen arrived in town, psalms were sung to the accompaniment of various

<sup>71</sup> Cited by Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, p. 3. See also my article, *Musicians in Early University Drama*, in *Notes and Queries*, CXCV (1950), 470-72.

<sup>72</sup> Boas, *University Drama*, p. 32. Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama*, Philadelphia, 1940, p. 30, gives 1547 as the date of this play.

<sup>73</sup> G. E. P. Arkwright, *Elizabethan Choirboy Plays and their Music*, in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, XL (1914), 127-28.

<sup>74</sup> Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 186, n. 1, 215-16, 236.

musical instruments in the chapel.<sup>75</sup> Later, "with a canopy over her, carried by four Senior Doctors, she entered into the church, and there abode while the quyer sang and play'd with cornetts, *Te Deum*."<sup>76</sup> When the queen saw Oxford for the second and last time some decades later (1592), Matthew Gwin, *praelector* in music in 1582, took part in a disputation before the royal party; and on the seventh day of the queen's visit, "There was also . . . a Lecturer in Musick, with the practice thereof by instrument, in the Common Schooles."<sup>77</sup> We recall, too, that during this visit ordinary lectures were read as usual, with Mr. Pelling lecturing in music. During this visit, moreover, Henry Saville made an oration before Elizabeth, praising music as one of the leisure arts that flourish in time of peace.<sup>78</sup>

During the third year of his reign (1605), James and his court visited the university, where as part of their reception they heard a service "mixt with instrumental and vocal musick" in the cathedral church; and on the third day of this visit "they went to New College, where they were entertained with a royal feast and incomparable musick."<sup>79</sup> At times the town waits (instrumentalists) lent their music to university ceremonies—for instance in 1583 when a "noble and learned Polonian named Albertus Alaskie or Laskie" paid a visit to Oxford, he was met by Oxford officials, welcomed with a Latin oration, presented with gloves, "which being done a consort of musicians, that stood over the East Gate, played on their wind-music till they were gone into the City."<sup>80</sup> In 1613 just after the death of Sir Thomas Bodley, the cornerstone was laid for a new quadrangle of which the west end was to be the Bodleian Library. "There was Music with voices," Wood tells us, "and other instruments." And Wood's description of the laying of the cornerstone for the new library (1634) not only shows the dependence of academic ceremonies upon music but also points out the occasional dangers of university life:

On the thirteenth of May, being Tuesday, 1634, the Vicechancellor, Doctors, Heads of Houses and Proctors, met at St. Mary's Church about 8 of the clock

<sup>75</sup> Nicholas Robinson, *Of the Actes Done at Oxford When the Queen's Majesty Was There*, in Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford Reprints*, p. 178.

<sup>76</sup> Richard Stephens, *A Brief Rehearsall of all such Things as were done in the University of Oxford During the Queen's Majesty's Abode There*, *ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>77</sup> Philip Stringer, *The Grand Reception and Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592*, *ibid.*, pp. 252, 259.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 263-64.

<sup>79</sup> Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 285, 286.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 215.



in the morning; from thence each having his respective formalities on, came to this place, and took their seats that were then erected on the brim of the foundation. Over against them was built a scaffold where the two Proctors with divers Masters stood. After they were all settled, the University Musicians who stood upon the leads at the west end of the library sounded a lesson on their wind music. Which being done the singing men of Christ Church, with others, sang a lesson, after which the Senior Proctor Mr. Herbert Pelham of Magdalen College made an eloquent Oration: that being ended also the music sounded again, and continued playing till the Vicechancellor went to the bottom of the foundation to lay the first stone in one of the south angles. But no sooner he had deposited a piece of gold on the said stone, according to the usual manner in such ceremonies, but the earth fell in from one side of the foundation, and the scaffold that was thereon broke and fell with it, so that all those that were thereon to the number of an hundred at least namely the Proctors, Principals of Halls, Masters, and some Bachelours fell down all together one upon another into the foundation.<sup>81</sup>

With the elevation of music to a separate faculty having its own academic regulations, with the maintenance of musical studies (Boethius) within the traditional framework of mathematics, with the numerous religio-academic musical activities constantly going on at Oxford, and with the widespread cultivation of music informally it is no wonder that most of the treatises on music that appeared in England during the Renaissance can be related, directly or indirectly, to this university. In the latter part of the 15th century, Hothby, a Carmelite, doctor of theology and teacher at Oxford in 1435, traveled to Italy, where he held various teaching posts.<sup>82</sup> Three brief works by Hothby (the *Regulae super proportionem*, the *De cantu figurato*, and the *Regulae super contrapunctum*) together make up a little treatise on *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*. (Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, III, 328-34.) A much longer work, written in Italian, is Hothby's *Calliopea legale*, designed for his students at Lucca and dealing with the elements of plainsong.<sup>83</sup> Among his unpublished works are a letter against Ramos de Pareia and a treatise, *Excitatio quaedam musicae artis per refutationem*, which upheld the mathematical divisions of Marchettus and the six-tone system of Guido against the octave system postulated by Ramos.<sup>84</sup> Thus Hothby had a part in the theoretical controversy carried on vehemently later against Ramos

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 939-40.

<sup>82</sup> See Utto Kornmüller, *Johann Hothby*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VIII (1893), 3.

<sup>83</sup> E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1852, pp. 295-349.

<sup>84</sup> See Kornmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Anton Wilhelm Schmidt, *Die Calliopea Legale des Johannes Hothby*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 9.



at the University of Bologna by Gafori and Spataro; in fact, Hothby's treatise *De cantu figurato* was copied in 1474 by Johannes Bonadies, teacher of Gafori—and so Oxford was at least partly responsible for the conservative attitude of Gafori in this debate. But like many another Renaissance theorist, Hothby did not stop with writing about music: he also wrote a number of three-part compositions. In 1486 he was recalled to England by royal command, probably owing to his fame as a musician, and he died in England the following year.

After the time of Hothby, no original works on musical theory appeared in England for about a hundred years.<sup>85</sup> The first book on musical theory published in England was an instruction book in the elements of sight-singing by an Oxford student: *A Briefe Introduction to the True Art of Musicke* (1584) by William Bathe. In 1600 Bathe published a new edition called *A Briefe Introduction to the skill of Song* in which he attempted to postulate a new system of sight-singing based upon the octave and approaching the movable *do* system.<sup>86</sup> Strictly practical (lacking any theoretical introduction), this curious treatise was pedagogical in purpose, designed to teach the elements of music to school-boys. With four "ante rules of Song" (*naming, quantitie, time, and tune*) and four "post rules of Song" (more details about the same), Bathe discussed nomenclature, note values, mutation, and other aspects of music. For *Time* (post rules), he gave a very strange set of directions (B vii *recto* and *verso*):

Take a stick of a certaine length, and a stone of a certaine weight, hold the stick standing vpon an end of some table: See you haue vpon the stick diuers marks: hold the stone vp by the side of the stick: then as you let fall the stone, instantly begin to sing one Note, and iust with the noyse that it maketh vpon the table, beegin another Note, and as long as thou holdest the first Note, so long

<sup>85</sup> Hawkins, following Bishop Tanner, credits William Chelle (bachelor of music, Oxford, 1524, later precentor of Hereford Cathedral) with two tracts, *Musicae practicae compendium* and *De proportionibus musicis* (*History of Music*, II, 522). According to Henry Davey, *History of English Music*, 2nd ed., London, 1921, p. 92, Tucke of New College made a collection of theoretical works in 1500 and Chelle copied these in 1526, adding nothing new. Chelle's treatises are probably copies of the works of Tunstede and Hothby. (Williams, *Degrees in Music*, p. 67, says these treatises were copied from John Dunstable and John Otteby: the treatise once thought to be Dunstable's is the *Quatuor principalia* of Simon Tunstede, Oxford mathematician and theologian.) The fact that Chelle copied these works shows his interest in the mathematical side of music as well as in practical aspects — all with an eye, doubtless, to the pedagogical duties contingent upon the office of precentor.

<sup>86</sup> A copy of the second treatise is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. For easy reference, see Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 250-51, for a summary of the solmization system.

hold the rest, and let that note thy Crachet or thy Minim, &c. as thou seest cause, and thus maist thou measure the very Time it selfe that thou keepest, and know whether thou hast altered it, or not.

Bathe also included a curious *Gladius musicus*, a sword-diagram for determining concords and discords (C ii verso); and his book ends with musical examples—"Sundry waies of 2. parts in one vpon the plain song."

Bathe himself was a musician of some note, having pleased the queen by his skill in playing various instruments, according to a letter of Lord Burghley's, and having made "a late device of a new harp, which he presented to her Majesty."<sup>87</sup> The first of his musical treatises was written while he was a student at Oxford, and his subsequent activities, like Hothby's, show the widespread influence of musical affairs at Oxford. For after leaving his university, Bathe studied theology at Louvain and Padua; and early in the 17th century he was teaching in the Irish College (the Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses, founded by Philip II, 1592) incorporated in the University of Salamanca. Statutes of this college, probably drawn up the year Bathe joined the staff (1604), provided that each student spend some time each day in the study of music and of Greek literature: the musical requirement may have been owing to Bathe's interest in the subject.

In 1586 appeared *The Praise of Musicke*<sup>88</sup> by John Case, once a chorister at Christ Church, doctor of medicine, and fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Unlike Bathe's very practical treatises, this work is an *apologia* for music—indeed, it is a thorough elaboration of the uses and effects of music, one of the topics invariably found in the medieval treatises—discussing music's antiquity, its cultivation by "Emperours, Kings and Captaines" from time immemorial, its powers and medicinal effects upon man, and its many uses in civil, military, and ecclesiastical matters. The book abounds in legends and anecdotes having to do with the power of music. Moreover, Case gives a brief history of church music from the time of David, showing that music has always been sanctioned by the Church; and he concludes with "A refutation of objections against the lawful use of Musicke in the Church," answering and refuting objections of the Puritans to music. Two years after the publication of *The Praise of Musicke*, Case published in Latin another work covering

<sup>87</sup> For this and subsequent biographical data on Bathe, see Timothy Corcoran, *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, London, 1911, p. 6 ff.

<sup>88</sup> See the copy in the Huntington Library. Ample citations from it appear in Boyd, *Elizabethan Music*, Appendix C, p. 292 ff.

music, *De Templo Musicae* in the *Utriusque cosmi historia*,<sup>95</sup> is headed by a large symbolical picture of the temple of music; and in his discussion of the elements of music Fludd carries out this symbolism: scales are columns of the temple, notes are bricks, intervals are windows. Although Fludd, like Kepler, properly belongs to the history of the Baroque, his treatise is for the most part medieval in form and content, with a conventional scholastic introduction followed by a description of the elements of music. Descriptions and pictures of many stringed instruments with their tablatures follow, some wind instruments, and one percussion instrument. The climax of the book appears in the section *De instrumento nostro Magno* — Fludd's invention of a great instrument worked by a handle (a kind of hurdy-gurdy), with diagrams of music for the instrument.

The last musical treatise written by an Oxford man still belonging to the period under discussion although it leads us well into the 17th century is Charles Butler's *Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636). Chorister in Magdalen College's choir school, bachelor of arts, music master at the Magdalen school, and later schoolmaster in the country, Butler drew upon the medieval *protreptikos* (the hortatory introduction to music as a part of philosophy) as well as the practical handbook in compiling his treatise. The first part of this work deals with the modes, elements of music, and composition, with constant quotation from ancient, medieval, and contemporary authorities; the second part resembles Case's *Praise of Musicke* in elaborating upon music's effects and uses in civil and ecclesiastical life, with specific refutation of many Puritan objections. In addition to its importance musically, the work is interesting from a literary point of view, for in it Butler quotes Du Bartas at great length and makes a very derogatory remark about Christopher Marlowe;<sup>96</sup> and Butler's interest in problems of philology (he was a grammarian and bee-keeper) is seen in the printing of this book according to his own system of phonetics.

Although none of these treatises was written specifically *ad utilitatem studiosorum* or *ad pueros instruendos*, as is the case with many contemporary German treatises, they all appear to reflect some aspect of

<sup>95</sup> *Utriusque cosmi majoris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atque technia historia, tractatus secundus*, (in nobili Oppenheimio, 1618), copy in the Yale Library.

<sup>96</sup> See my article, *A Note on Marlowe in Charles Butler's Principles of Musik* (1631), in *Notes and Queries*, CXCVIII (1953), 16-18, and *Charles Butler and Du Bartas*, *ibid.*, I (n.s., 1954), 2-7. The Huntington Library owns Butler's *Principles of Musik* (London, 1636) as well as several of his other treatises, on bees, grammar, rhetoric, etc.

the many musical activities constantly going on at Oxford. And the study of music at Renaissance Oxford presents a somewhat unusual picture. On the statute books we find Boethius's *Musica* a requirement for the baccalaureate in arts, and music as a mathematical discipline required for the *magisterium* also, as in medieval times. The lecturer in music had a regular place among the *magistri regentes* each year. The retention of music within the frame of mathematical studies appears, too, in the first endowed professorship in mathematics, which called quite specifically for lectures on music along with other branches of mathematics; and the chair of music endowed by Heather embraced both theory and practice. Sometime during the 15th century, moreover, the single art of music had become a separate faculty on a par with the faculties of theology, law, and medicine — the only member of the liberal arts to be so distinguished —, privileged to award its separate degree. Arrival at this new status involved for music the standardizing of certain academic matters — such as regulations for academic dress, applications for degrees, fees, and other details connected with graduation: these features were carefully worked out in statutes of 1601 and 1636.

According to the very uneven records, however — largely Wood's *Fasti* — there were no standardized requirements for music degrees at Oxford in the 16th century: these were generally granted when the candidate had spent years in the study of music and had shown some proficiency as a composer, but each supplication for a degree was dealt with individually. Determinations and disputations appear not to have been generally required of music candidates, although students in the arts still participated in these exercises. The performance of the candidate's musical composition at the Act probably substituted for this. Judged by those supplications still extant, most candidates for musical degrees studied music (and practiced it too) privately, either within or away from the university. Bull, for example, was a pupil of the royal organist William Blitheman, and both Thomas Tomkins and Thomas Morley were pupils of William Byrd, himself a pupil of Thomas Tallis, who may have graduated in the arts at Oxford. None of the great English musicians, moreover, ever held a public teaching position at Oxford, for music in the university proper was taught by *magistri regentes* who lectured on all the arts. But it is highly significant that many distinguished Renaissance musicians were choirmasters and organists in collegiate foundations there, where excellent training in theory, singing, playing of instruments, and composition was obtainable; and some

private tutors musically gifted also provided musical instruction for interested students.

The Caroline (Laudian) Code of 1636 pulled together all loose ends from the preceding century and established quite definite requirements for musical degrees, making the bachelor's degree a prerequisite for the doctorate. These statutes, specifying a certain length of time to have been spent in theory and practice, maintained the traditional close connection between these two aspects of music; they pointed up music's traditional alignment with mathematics, too, by allowing the successful candidate to lecture on any book of Boethius and to have the bachelor created doctor or inceptor by the Savillian professor of mathematics. The Renaissance conception of *musicus* — theorist, composer, performer — carried over, thus, well into the Baroque.

Although Wood in the *Fasti* does not mention any musical degrees under his heading "Creations"—honorary degrees, most of them doctor of laws or divinity—it seems that at times the doctorate was (like that awarded Heather and Gibbons) of an honorary nature. In awarding these degrees, Oxford honored musicians who had already achieved fame in the field and at the same time embellished its commencement exercises with excellent musical compositions written and produced by these men. Never given lightly, the Oxford baccalaureate and doctorate in music were a hallmark of distinction, proudly advertised by those who obtained the coveted award. In 1553, for instance, there appeared *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englysh Metre . . . by Cristofer Tye, Doctor in Musyke*; Ornithoparchus's *Micrologus* was translated by "J. D. Lutenist, Lute-player, and Bachelor of Musicke in both the Universities"; and the most important treatise of the century was written by "Thomas Morley, Batcheler of musicke." The degrees in music, in a word, marked the academic participation in the great flourishing of music that characterized England's Tudor period generally and that contributed greatly to making the Renaissance a truly Golden Age.

## EDITORIAL

GROVE'S *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* was a trusted old friend of all music lovers. Indeed, it was close to being something alive; we liked it despite its failings, for these failings were the result of patriarchal age. We knew its foibles, its idiosyncrasies, and its shortcomings, as we know them in men, and we forgave them as we do in men whom we value for their honesty and integrity.

Originally published in 1878, and largely the work of one remarkable man, Sir George Grove, appropriately called "the Literate in ordinary and extraordinary," subsequent editions called on more and more collaborators, very few of whom could match professionally the un-professional Sir George, an engineer by trade and biblical scholar by avocation. For the past few decades very little has been done to bring the work up to date, only a supplementary volume and plate corrections, and these latter gave *Grove*, as the dictionary is always affectionately referred to, the appearance of a comfortable old jacket with many neat patches about the elbows, and new binding around the edges. Although no longer serviceable as a modern reference work, it still had considerable value for those who knew how to distinguish between the living and the dead, but above all it had a most pleasant tone and attitude: dignified, urbane, and sympathetic in that delightful British way we like so much.

It was inevitable, of course, that this great reference work should be completely recast, therefore the face liftings were abandoned and an entirely new *Grove*, long in the making, made its appearance a few months ago in nine impressive volumes.

But is it completely new? There are many new articles, some of them of essay length, and, especially those dealing with more recent music, of excellent quality; the printing is beautiful, the illustrations fine, and at the end of the entries devoted to individual musicians there are tabulated lists of compositions in chronological order that make this at once an indispensable reference work. On the other hand, many of the hoary old entries have been retained, others exchanged for new ones of questionable, even lesser value, still others reworked with "additions" that did not remove the old Victorian high collar but only added a new necktie. There



are glaring omissions and a curious concept of relative values and proportions, and one is conscious of a somewhat belligerent British bias that is very different from the engaging parochialism of the old edition. Furthermore, the new *Grove* is very chary with bibliography, its cross-reference system is haphazard, and in sum—though this we really hate to say—it represents the present state of musical scholarship only in spots. That these spots are very large does not change the state of affairs. It is a happy fact that the younger generation of British musicologists is in the van of international musical scholarship, and thus wholly capable of matching similar efforts now being carried out, and supremely well, in Germany. A number of these men—Westrup, Hyatt King, Abraham, Mellers, Denis Stevens, Dart, Fortune, Cudworth—to mention a few who come to mind, are fortunately among the contributors, and their pieces are most welcome. Though even they fail on occasion, we have a feeling that this is owing to editorial restrictions. And there are of course such grand old men as Tillyard, Dent, Oldman, Farmer, Trend, Hughes, to mention some at random, whose presence is indispensable and always furnishes a solid foundation to build on. Finally, one is pleased to encounter such foreign scholars of eminence as, say, Anglès, Jeppesen, Wiora, Deutsch, Reese, Pincherle, or Smijers. But there are also innumerable entries by Sir John Stainer & family, or by Parry, Rockstro, Sterndale-Bennett, Dannreuther, Grace, Parratt, Walker, or Henderson. Their contributions are, of necessity, so antiquated as to render the portions of the work allotted to them practically useless.

Needless to say, such a large work cannot fully be assayed except after considerable use. Nevertheless, the samplings we have made by turning to the dictionary whenever need for reference has arisen during the last weeks have given a pretty good idea of its general design, its good points and its bad ones.

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The numerous omissions are perhaps the most baffling feature of the work. Such figures as Grocheo and Giovanni Platti are so important in the history of music that even the smallest dictionaries list them. Many of the great musical scholars are slighted—Karl von Jan, Dom Jeannin, Ferretti, Molitor—while very unimportant writers are included and dignified with the title, "musicologist." One Englishman who is surprisingly missing is John Mainwaring, the Handel biographer who compiled the first life of a composer ever published. But the most unexpected omissions in a work with a definite and stated British *parti pris* are those

of English musicians of importance. Byttering (or Bittering), Cherbury (Chirbury), Damett, Exeter (Excestre), Pycard (Picard) are all missing. Nor are they mentioned under "Old Hall Manuscript," although some of them are discussed under "Chapel Royal," but it took quite a bit of research to track down some trace of them. There are many more of these orphans that cannot be found in the nine volumes.

In contradistinction, those who are included present at time a curious effect when approached with a yardstick. Some of the most obscure gentry from faraway lands (according to the Preface, this dictionary is mainly for British readers) are treated with incomparable hospitality. There are, for instance, some Hungarian worthies, almost completely forgotten in their own country, who receive handsome recognition in Britain. Thus Gabriel Mátray (1797-1875) occupies three columns, while Landino gets a scant column of which twenty lines deal with his music. Likewise, Mihály Mosony, a totally inconsequential 19th-century Hungarian composer in whom no British reader could conceivably express any interest, is spread on five columns, while the historically important Marazzolis get fifteen lines apiece.

Many articles inadequate at the time of their original composition have been retained. J. R. Sterndale's "Okeghem" is one example. In it the old master is pronounced the founder of the "Second" or "New" Netherland school, but the entry "Netherland School" has not been retained. Miss Stainer's "Brumel," a pathetic little entry of one column, is a good example of the "revised" articles. There is no reference by the reviser to modern editions, therefore whoever consults the article will have to look elsewhere for information about the original prints or manuscripts. Nor was the bibliography brought up to date. One can read such quaint passages as this one from "Tapissier," by J. F. R. Stainer: "[a certain motet] by Tapissier shows many signs of immaturity and enables us to realize how great was the advance in musical art made by Dufay and Binchois." I submit that this sort of thing is neither historiography nor lexicography; its presence in a mid-20th-century reference work is inexcusable.

There are many other instances of antiquity and frugality of treatment—Erlebach, Baude Cordier, Peuerl, etc. Perhaps the most extreme case is the entry devoted to Erlebach—four lines; no bibliography, no reference to the *Denkmäler*. But how could there be any modern information in an article written by Van der Straeten possibly three quarters of a century ago? Then again, such articles as Parry's "Development" or the same author's "Sequences" are completely dated.



Aside from being perfunctory, many of these articles have grotesque proportions. "Bar" (2), a metrical unit delimited by bar-lines, gets eight columns; "Bar" (3), Bar-form, fifteen lines (and there is no reference to similar French forms); "Sequence," the repetition of a group of notes, occupies three and a half columns, but the weighty subject of the Latin Sequence has to be satisfied with less than one and a half, and with a bibliography that says "see Notker." The article on "Motet" is entirely inadequate, as are those on "Absolute Music" and "Aesthetics."

Perhaps the most disturbing shortcoming, from the point of view of the serious student of music, is to be found in the bibliography. In fact, in many instances there is no bibliography at all. "Trope," "Sequence," etc., have none. A fifty-five column essay on "Liturgic Music Drama," well written and accurately citing in footnotes every manuscript source utilized, ends with a bibliography consisting of one title! "Lute" has a fair-sized entry, with a short bibliography at the end of which we read: "A very great deal of information about lutenists and lute music is contained in articles in musical journals, especially in the publications of the I.M.G." Now, that is neither here nor there, and could be said about any subject. After all, readers consult a dictionary to get the name of the journal, and to discover precisely where to find the desired information.

In other cases the bibliography is embarrassing to read. Take for instance "Aesthetics," a measly three-column entry. At the end, the reader is referred to an article in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association* that, musicologically speaking, goes back to the time of the Great Fire. The only other item is Einstein's *Greatness in Music*, surely not a work on aesthetics; and this in the face of a tremendous literature, much of it in English. Vital omissions of modern editions and monographs are numerous. For example, under "Van den Borren" no mention is made of *Polyphonia Sacra*, nor of the English translation of his important work on English keyboard music. Under "Isaac"—an old piece by Terry—no reference is made to Cuyler's *Choralis Constantinus*, III, though under the entry "Cuyler" this appears.

In general, the procedure that has been followed becomes clear. Old articles have been retained together with their bibliography, which of course is heavily weighted by old 19th-century literature. Some of them have been brought up to date, rather capriciously, but there is usually a gap between, say, 1905 and 1945, and not infrequently between 1880 and 1934. Thus, it is rather painful to read the superannuated piece on Palestrina; the only "authority" quoted in the body of the article in

support of style analysis is a 19th-century choirmaster and composer, Michael Haller, one of the head men of the Caecilians. (I tried to get some information on this Palestrina expert but he is not listed in the new *Grove*.) Then this ancient entry is brought up to date by a new bibliography of twelve items (as compared to thirty-six in Moser's one-volume *Lexikon*), which fails to include Baini, Fellerer, Molitor, Peter Wagner, Leichtentritt, Ursprung, and a number of others. Finally, it is hard to understand why articles are still signed by initials instead of full names. In order to find the author the reader must go to Volume One where most elaborate concordances of authors' names are to be found. Why the secrecy? The reader likes to bless—or curse—the author right on the spot. Moreover, by first looking at the name he may either forgo the pleasure of reading the contribution, or feel reassured that his study will be rewarding.

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Some will say that a dictionary is not the proper place for biographical studies that go beyond vital statistics. We must disagree. Moser in his small *Lexikon* often manages to characterize a composer in one short paragraph in a manner that is truly enlightening. Most of the great heroes of musical history, as well as of the present, receive appropriate space in the new *Grove*—but not all of them. Many of the biographies consist of trivial data diluted by sober phrases and clichés. There are the usual references to the miseries caused by the inability of contemporaries to appreciate a great musician—a problem that always has to be faced. The biographers of Vivaldi and Cherubini bravely struggle with it; Domenico Scarlatti's does not even pose the question. Take another example, Debussy. There were few composers who lived so exclusively in their music, to whom the external world meant so little. His compositions were entirely his own; neither the public nor the critics shared in their possession. His soul was poured into them without the need of the profane eyes and ears of an audience. But his biographer in *Grove* has no sense for such inner life; he merely recites Debussy's *curriculum vitae* and then proceeds to a soberly technical analysis of his works. Fortunately, scores of other monographs devoted to single composers are of a different cast, and many of them, such as the ones on Rameau and Schubert, are not only exceedingly well done, but very readable too.

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And now we must take up the question of editorial principles, the *raison d'être* of the work, and sundry details of planning, all of which are announced in the Preface, which indeed resembles a manifesto rather than an introductory statement of aims and techniques employed.

Mr. Blom, the Editor, has a very powerful personality and a mind that is as clear as a bell. He writes with uncommon felicity and his logic is penetrating, that is, unless he is constrained to turn his attention to anything American; then it becomes colored with emotion, and the crisp and pleasant prose becomes sarcastic, sardonic, even bitter. A slight but persistent xenophobia can be found almost everywhere in the nine volumes. In the Preface it roars into a philippic and a declaration of preventive war on U. S. musicography; in articles by other authors a footnote or two may be used to splice it in. That this is almost entirely the Editor's doing is beyond doubt. Aside from the fact that one can recognize his turn of mind as readily as one does Chopin's, he expressly states in the Preface that "very little has escaped being touched up with [his] editorial green ink." If we add to this that although an uncommonly able writer, Mr. Blom is not fully at home in the byways of musicology, we must come to the conclusion that a good part of the failures of this Fifth Edition, but especially its crotchettiness, must be laid squarely upon his shoulders.

All of us realize that many books on music written and published on this side of the ocean are dismally ignorant of the fact that art criticism and history is a profession of letters. We have had occasion to explain<sup>1</sup> that while we deplore this mangling of the English language just as much as do our friends in Britain, this is a phenomenon that was bound to arise in a land that two generations ago had no literature dealing with music. We have only recently begun to produce such literature, and have received much help from those whom Mr. Blom refers to as having been "driven" from their homes on the Continent. (Mr. Blom may be surprised to learn how many of such foreigners—among them Englishmen—came to this barbarous land of their own choice.) When Burney and Hawkins were writing musical history in England, Americans were fighting the Indians (well, the British too) in order to make themselves a home. That during the past thirty years a remarkable musical literature has arisen in the U. S. A., from practically nothing and nowhere, should, naturally, be a matter of pride to us, but perhaps our British colleagues should rejoice in this too. We assure Mr. Blom that most of them do, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Musical Quarterly*, April 1951, p. 234 (Editorial).

we, who have frequent occasion to communicate with them in connection with the business of this journal, can testify to a most cordial and appreciative attitude on their part. We do not think that the Germanisms or other isms they encounter in our publications have corrupted a single British musicologist. Unlike Mr. Blom, many of his confrères realize that once this remarkable sudden flowering of American musicology settles down to a normal existence as new generations born to the language take over, the makeshift terms and hasty and incompetent translations will disappear and we shall no longer offend discriminating literary palates. But to say, as Mr. Blom does, that those who wish to add technical terms to the English musical vocabulary are persons "who simply do not know English and have either no intention or no ability to learn it" is unworthy of a British scholar. Nor is it very tactful in a work that is obviously intended for wide dissemination in this country.

In spite of Mr. Blom's strictures against the introduction of new musical terms in our English technical vocabulary—and we reiterate that we are not defending bad English prose—the eventual admission of such terms is inevitable. He may not realize it, but he himself is a party to this insidious conspiracy. The Editor of the new *Grove* admits to only one exception to his iron-bound rule against the employment of "hybrid" words, but this lone admission opens the doors wide. Even though it is only one term, the innocent and very English-sounding "conservatory" (particularly engaging if one knows its origins), the reasons for his relenting are so illuminating—and prophetic—that we shall quote them in italics: "*it has no current term to take its place.*" Well, sir, this is the crux of the matter. The same goes for "glissando," admittedly as un-English as it is un-Italian. Here again Mr. Blom's armor is weak; he grudgingly gives it an entry because "*it is so widely used*" but banishes it thereafter. Indeed, all the Queen's halberdiers will not drive it out of the musical vocabulary, despite the fact that in the present edition of *Grove* "it has now been firmly put in its place." "So what?" one of those disrespectful and uncouth Americans would ask; "Show me a British score where the composer will ask the harpist to execute a 'rapid glide over the notes of a scale'." Or perhaps we shall get used to *strisciando*, which is the proper word in Italian—but we doubt it.

A further example of Mr. Blom's quiet complicity in undermining English musical nomenclature is furnished in the article on "Gestalt Psychology." The notion and term having been accepted by other branches of learning in Britain, *Gestalt* had to be accepted by *Grove* too. True to his principles, and we applaud him for that, the Editor made an

attempt (in a footnote) to substitute "configuration"—and for all we know this might be perfectly acceptable—but the author of the entry sticks to *Gestalt*, nay to *Gestalten*!

It is of course perfectly obvious that we shall have to resort to such technical terms; the lengthy circumnavigation of concepts instead of using a technical term, and the employment of foreign words with their own plurals and declensions, is ungainly and unsatisfactory. We had better go to work on coining the *terminus technici* of English musicology. "A song that is *durchkomponiert*" (*Grove*) is much more awkward than "A song that is through-composed" (U.S. "musicologese"). And so it goes *ad infinitum*.

Perhaps we have gone too far afield on this matter, but it was Mr. Blom's glove thrown in our face right from the first pages that pitched us headlong into this controversy.

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The Fifth Edition of *Grove* is not what it should be; it cannot equal *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. We were so convinced that the new *Grove* would be the last word in musical scholarship that we saw no reason to encourage a contemplated translation of the German work into English. Haven't we seen superb articles contributed to the columns of *MGG* by some of the very same scholars who worked on *Grove*? Still, while a bit disappointing, *Grove V* has so many excellent features, so many fine articles, and in general will be so useful, that it will take its place on the shelves vacated by its venerable predecessor. We shall get used to it, and by the time it gets its first patches perhaps it will be once again a familiar old friend. And who knows, by that time perhaps even Mr. Blom will be a little mollified and willing to smile on his American friends who, though at times a little offended, do not reciprocate his profound mistrust and rather admire his uncompromising defense of his world and his ideas.

P. H. L.

## CURRENT CHRONICLE

### UNITED STATES

#### Louisville

The most glowing, fervent, fiery, brilliant orchestral work to come out of the first big crop of Louisville commissions is in our opinion the *Sinfonia Flamenca* by Carlos Surinach, a Spaniard from Barcelona, now living in New York. The work is traditionally Spanish in its use of frenetic color and fantastic melismas, with contrasts between overwhelmingly piercing rapid highs and lyrically Oriental lows. It is related to Falla, and to Sanjuan; but it proceeds further, contains more variety, and is better organized. Perhaps this is because Surinach, unlike any other top-ranking Spanish composer, was trained in Germany (Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Berlin); so while he began, as did most Spaniards, by leaning towards French Impressionism, he wound up with a full knowledge of German methods of handling form and structure. These methods are not used by him just as taught, since conventional harmonic structure is hardly applicable to Flamenco style. Rather, he employs principles of Germanic organization, which are applied to his own needs: to melody, rhythm, and counterpoint rather than to chords. A quotation from the composer is enlightening: "The scale used is the traditional scale of Flamenco music:



It's an eight-note scale, having three possible transpositions without repeating the tones." All three of these transpositions are usable together, rather in the way modal scales are, making a harmonic "effect" of characteristic color, not consonant, yet not dissonant.

"The 'scale'," continues Surinach, "can be worked contrapuntally rather as a twelve-tone row can, but unlike the twelve-tone scale, which

erases sense of contrast, bringing similarity of color everywhere, this scale allows for modulation, and for cadences or points of rest and arrival or conclusion, though these are not like the cadences of the tonal key system."

In defining the "Flamenco" elements he says:

There were three early population ingredients in Spain, all of them Oriental—the Sephardic Jew, the Gipsy, and the Moor. All three were "deported" during the Inquisition; the Gipsy, being nomadic, remaining to a greater degree than the others. They remained in caves, under bridges, around the countryside, retaining with them their traditional music. Their style is similar to that of the Moor and Sephardic Jew, for the same tunes can be heard from Calcutta to Granada and Fez, with regional differences and variations. But the Gipsy, Sephardi, and Moor have their own specific idiom within this common idiom, and the Flamenco stays within his own selective area rather as a Hindu musician will stay within his "rag" or scale. It is an instinctive selection, not an intellectual one.

The four movements of his *Sinfonia* show immediately the use of the scale he speaks of, and the adjustment he makes to its use, in connection with the acoustic peculiarities of the symphonic orchestra. When the scale flies upward into the higher areas, he narrows the intervals until they are almost a close chromatic run. This, scored as he scores—in unison or on many instruments in octave unisons—creates an astonishing brightness. Similarly, when the scale proceeds into the lower regions, the intervals widen, for the sake of clarity in the more slowly vibrating areas of orchestration.

Certain details of the Flamenco style also, such as the passionately reiterated note peculiar to the Gipsy manner, are enlarged, hugely and massively, so that what one has heard as a melodic detail or decorative device becomes—with the weight of the whole orchestra—an emphatic, dramatic substance that is germane to the melodic themes, yet grows from mere decoration to an architecture born directly from the very nature of the materials of the composer's choice.

The organization of these materials is based on the fact that the Flamenco scale can be transposed, and therefore there are modal key modulations, and more than one plan for a succession of such keys is used. In his counterpoint these keys are sometimes employed against each other polymodally. Harmonic implication comes from polyphonic lines; Surinach avoids the trap of relying on a harmonic imitation of guitar improvisation. For the most part he goes directly to the historical mainstream of melody and rhythm as sources for very skilled and sophis-

ticated development, the result of which pleases and excites the layman, for it is not abstruse; yet it offers plenty to provoke interest in the most erudite musician. It provides a challenge both to his knowledge and to his capacity for enlarged musical enjoyment.

HENRY COWELL

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New York

Heitor Villa-Lobos's fecundity is well known, but it is still rather striking when two concertos written by him within the past year or so are given their first performance during the same season. These are his Concerto for Harp (played by the Philadelphia Orchestra) and his Concerto No. 2 for Violoncello and Orchestra, which was given a world première by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra in an especially good performance conducted by Walter Hendl, and with Villa-Lobos's compatriot Aldo Parisot, for whom it was written, as soloist.

Probably no other composer born in the Western Hemisphere possesses a greater international reputation than Villa-Lobos. He has written a large number of works (although it is freely rumored that many he has listed are incomplete) in many media, and in styles which at times differ from each other so much that it is hard to realize they are by the same composer. His many years in Paris resulted in a strong French influence (his Trio for piano, violin, and violoncello seems purely French); but many of his best-known works are firmly built of characteristic Brazilian elements. In them he uses Afro-Brazilian folk instruments, tunes, and rhythms, and enhances these with original composed but similar materials. In his early *Amazones* he employs a large orchestra, uses Portuguese, African, and Indian-Brazilian themes, and builds up curious super-chord structures (usually with high minor seconds plus open fourths on more conventional underpinnings) that fit the exotic elements. Some critical young Brazilians then taxed him with being merely a folkish composer, with no relationship to the whole world of music. Other anti-Villa-Lobos young men admitted his ability to write in French style; but since this group used exclusively the Viennese twelve-tone row, which they called "international," he still felt the need to do something about the criticism. He then announced that according to his



belief, the greatest and most international music would be forthcoming if the Bach style were applied to the diversified Brazilian folk elements. He then proceeded to write his famous series *Bachianas Brasileiras*.

These points are all by way of introducing the Concerto No. 2 for Violoncello and Orchestra; for some knowledge of this history is needed to understand its style. There is an obvious attempt to make a further integration between the styles of Bach and Brazil.

The Concerto is excellently written for 'cello; Villa-Lobos's first instrument was the 'cello; as a young man he toured as a soloist on this instrument, and the writing displays an intimate knowledge of the sort that comes only by playing oneself. This does not mean that the writing is unconventional; only in one or two spots in the cadenza of the last movement are there highly unusual double-stop glissandos. On the other hand, surprisingly little use is made of harmonics, pizzicatos, or other special effects. It is as though the composer wished to prove that he could write in a straightforward melodious manner without recourse even to mildly strange sounds on the instrument. The orchestra, also, is treated much less colorfully than has been the custom with Villa-Lobos; it is for the most part sedate even to the point of being somewhat boring. Only here and there are there flashes of the powerful and colorful Brazilian instrumentation and rhythm. Even the sounds of *timbales* in the Scherzo were used in a subdued way. Furthermore, rather thick and unLatin-American orchestration often obscured the solo 'cello. It was clear that this was the fault neither of the soloist nor of the conductor.

The work is tonal throughout, mostly in A minor. The melodic lines are built on fragments all of which may be found in Bach, and are treated in Bach-like sequences; often with the familiar device of having the melodic outline limn a seventh, and be resolved in sequence a step lower. The fundamental chords are simple ones, with dissonant seasoning high above on rare occasions.

In some respects the building on Bachian style falls down. The music does not make much use of dominant chords, and is not built on dominant-tonic structure; and listen as one would, no planned substitute or other diatonic organization seemed to take the place of such structure. Thus the chord sequences seemed rather formless, without designed harmonic plan. There was a feeling of aimlessness rather than of any arrival at an inevitable point. The music often remained in the same key for over-long periods, while still studiously avoiding chromaticism. This contributed to a sense of inertia. Bach's lack of chromaticism is fully compensated for by the constant key shifts in his developments,

and the organic round of keys contributes mightily to the drive towards a conclusion that is so powerful an aspect of the Bach style. There is a warmth and richness in the melodic flow and its harmonic support in the Concerto; but it lacks the variety of chromaticism, of key modulation, or of modal change; it lacks counterpoint almost completely, and it lacks harmonic structure. So it would seem that Villa-Lobos is giving us his impressions of Bach rather than adopting Bach-like musical form. The result failed to convince at least one listener who is in general a genuine admirer of the composer.

HENRY COWELL

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The variety of idioms and formal procedures available to composers today is far greater than at any other time. Thanks to the labors of musicologists, vast areas of musical history that were practically unknown to the 19th and 18th centuries have been opened up and made accessible to us in the form of representative scores and records. Schoenberg's use of contrapuntal devices that date back to the 15th century, Stravinsky's "discovery" of such composers as Machaut and Isaac, and the predilection of many younger composers for Baroque formal principles are well known. When such old elements are modified by and integrated with the qualities of a highly developed personal style, the result is not eclecticism but enrichment. The style in question gains in depth, color, and freshness.

This is what happens, it seems to me, in Samuel Barber's *Prayers of Kierkegaard*, Op. 30, for mixed chorus, soprano solo, and orchestra, recently performed in Boston with one choral group and in New York with another by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Charles Munch. The text was selected by Barber from various writings by the Danish philosopher and mystic. It is simple and poetic, alternating between two principal ideas — the unchangeableness and everlasting mercy of God and a plea for redemption. The work, which lasts for about 18 minutes, opens with an unaccompanied male chorus singing a Gregorian-like chant in the Dorian mode, and continues with the full chorus and orchestra in writing that is now chordal, now contrapuntal, and a prayer by the soprano solo followed by soft, rich chords in the chorus. Then begins a long development, involving first a solo tenor and alto, and growing in intensity until double chorus and full orchestra unite

in a powerful climax. The orchestra carries on alone in more and more frenzied mood, with ejaculations by the chorus, and then dies down. A triple chorus now intones, softly and antiphonally, "Father in Heaven," and then all singers and players join in a broad, fervent chorale, which brings the work to an end.

Gregorian-Chant style at the beginning, Lutheran-chorale style at the end, some atonality in the middle. Here is a sample of the last — the opening of the long development:

Notice that the *tutti* tenors sing the same material as the solo tenor, but in augmentation. Notice, too, that the accompanying figure (played by piano and xylophone) in the first measure has all the characteristics of a twelve-tone row and that in the second measure the succession of notes in this figure is almost exactly reversed. But there is no question of deliberate twelve-tone writing here; in fact Barber was not aware of the dodecaphony in this passage until it was pointed out to him — a clear indication of how this style has begun to permeate the musical language today. The whole work, however, — Gregorian, atonal, and Lutheran traits and all — gives a unified impression because these elements are thoroughly integrated into the characteristic Barber style, with its broadly arched but sensitively inflected melody, its live and elegant counterpoint, its firm, if often concealed, tonal foundation, its varied and vital rhythm, and its glowing and brilliant orchestration. The moving sincerity of this composition and the high quality of its material and workmanship make it one of Barber's finest.

Neither the Boston nor the New York performance had quite the impact it should have had, since the chorus in both cases was insufficiently trained or rehearsed.

N. B.

## San Francisco

Two new pieces of chamber music, the String Quartet No. 1 of Jerome Rosen and the String Quartet in D of Leonard Ratner, have been attracting considerable attention in recent performances in this area.

In the music of Ratner one's attention is attracted immediately by the treatment of harmony and tonality. The methods of handling these two elements prove to be crucial factors of his style; they are interesting and important in themselves and in the light they throw on other aspects of his work. Ratner writes in a dissonant idiom in which the harmonies may be formed of any intervals, although there is a noticeable preference for fourths and fifths. All twelve tones of the octave are freely used but this is by no means a chromatic style in the sense that the half steps are treated as of equal importance. On the contrary, there is strict subordination to preferred tonal degrees. Tonal clarity is maintained by frequent cadences in which the tonal center is affirmed by strong dominants and by leading tones. The dominant function is of central importance, and because of its prominence many effects of traditional harmony remain natural resources of the music.

The opening measures of the work give evidence of the uses made

## Ex. 1

*Allegro deciso*

*ff*

*pizz.*

*f*

of these harmonic possibilities. There are three contrasting elements in the first group and it is largely by means of avoidance of an implied tonic that they are welded together and directed in such a powerful sweep to the first important goal — the dominant of the dominant. The tonic is stated only in the first measure, and while it is constantly kept in the hearer's mind thereafter, it is either avoided outright or made ambiguous by being heavily mixed with other components of the tonality. Components are mixed by having parts approach a cadence along two different paths simultaneously. The passage in question provides an example in which the figuration of the first violin emphasizes tonic and dominant while the lower parts make an excursion through the flat side of the key. Such a means of shading the functional, tonal chords is a valuable resource of Ratner's idiom and one that it has in addition to those available to traditional, more consonant harmony. The procedure can hardly be called polytonal, since its purpose is to lead to a very strong cadence in a single key; it is a sort of polychordality, which is employed with functional intent, the dissonances being carefully calculated to build up tension and increase the sense of movement to the cadential goal.

The forms are clearly modelled. The first and last movements are sonata-allegros which take as their point of departure the broad principles of tonal structure and the general scheme of statement of materials that were established in Classic times. The slow movement is an extended song form which opens on a sustained, lyric idea, moves to a climactic B section, returns to the first idea and then to a secondary climax on the B material, finally proceeding to a quiet close. The key schemes of these movements are broad and simple: the contrasting keys of the exposition of the first movement are D minor and E, and of the last movement D and F, while the slow movement is in C with F as the chief contrast.

The third movement is tonally most ambiguous, a feature that has much to do with its quality as a scherzo. The first idea happens to be a tone row, and this certainly has an effect on the harmonic character of the movement. More important, however, is the avoidance of the dominant and the partial replacement of it by the subdominant. The movement ends with a plagal cadence which deprives the tonic of its definitive character, and it also begins on the subdominant side. In any case, the drifting, unanchored quality of the harmony and the undecided character of the rhythm, which seems to be striving for metric

regularity but never achieves it, give this movement a tentative and hesitant quality that differentiates it from the other movements with their strong feeling of direction.

It is not intended to minimize the part played by rhythm, dynamics, range, and other factors, which are of course absolutely essential to the effect of the piece, but the fact remains that much of the sense of movement, of the feeling of destination in Ratner's work can be attributed to the handling of harmony and of tonalities.

In Rosen's quartet, which has an equally strong sense of movement, these two factors play a less outstanding part. As the example shows, the first movement opens with two melody lines in contrapuntal combination and these are soon joined by a third and fourth to create a rich and consistent rhythmic texture. (Figures that play a prominent part in the movement are bracketed.)<sup>1</sup>

Ex. 2

*Allegro appassionato* ( $\text{♩} = 108-112$ )

"Melody line" is something of a courtesy title for most of these parts because they are essentially the bearers of rhythmic patterns; they do have melodic character in the sense that they move conjunctly within

<sup>1</sup> The examples from the Rosen Quartet are copyright 1955 by Boosey & Hawkes Inc. and used by permission. The work was granted a Fromm Foundation Award.

very narrow range, but their outlines are fluid and changeable. However, since their purpose is the provision of a consistent rhythmic texture, lack of stable melodic contour involves loss of neither identity nor effectiveness. The idea introduced by the 'cello (m. 3) and restated by the first violin is sufficiently stable in outline to qualify as a theme in the ordinary sense but it, too, is primarily a rhythmic utterance. Melodically speaking, it reiterates and decorates a single tone. (Mm. 3-5, the 'cello presents the idea on G#, mm. 5-7 the first violin presents it on A.)

A high degree of emphasis is given to the eighth-note subdivision of the beat, the syncopated figures contributing especially to the effect. Since the ever-present eighth-note pulse and the irregular eighth-note groupings are heard with reference to a prevailing half-note beat (in 2/2 meter) the work has from the beginning a certain jazzy quality. Despite the indication *appassionato* and the many serious, climactic moments, there is an air of ebullience, a charming activity throughout the movement. (Because of the regular underlying beat the "thematic" figure of m. 3 ff. is heard as a syncopation and is correctly written with the eighth tied to the quarter; it is not a Bulgarian rhythm of  $3/8+3/8+2/8$ .)

The first few measures not only set the rhythmic character of the entire movement, they start it off at a very high level of activity. The opening passage — beginning as it does with complex contrapuntal texture and immediately proceeding to a great climax — provides an impetus that carries throughout. Its effect is to trigger the entire movement, which then continues as a living rhythmic outpouring. The texture is never quite so dense later in the work; nowhere else is a comparable amount of material presented in an equivalent space of time. The tendency is to reduce the scoring by one means or another to two or three real parts; this is true even of the recapitulation, which is one of the points of greatest climax yet is based on two elements only. In a sense, the continuation of the movement is an elucidation, a dissection, of the elements that have been presented in one great outburst at the beginning. The usual practice of presenting ideas relatively simply at first and then leading them through greater involvements is obviously not being followed here.

The harmonic idiom of this work differs widely from that of Ratner's. The dominant is given nowhere near so prominent a position, the twelve tones of the octave are treated as relatively equal in importance, and the intervals of the fourth and fifth are not emphasized as much as the step and half step (and their inversions, the major and minor sevenths)



either in melody or harmony. The key scheme of the four movements — C, G, F-sharp, and G — indicates that the composer does not feel the need to establish the key of the first movement as the tonic of the entire work.

The slow movement gives the repose of a long, beautifully sustained melodic line over a fluid and coloristic harmonic background. The scherzo is completely charming, evolving out of an idea that is rhythmically catchy but harmonically extremely simple. It is the only important theme in the work that is clearly triadic.

Ex. 3 Allegro vivace ( $\text{♩} = 132-136$ )



The volatile scherzo is immediately followed by the dramatic and violent last movement, which appears as an arresting epilogue, giving weight and seriousness to the entire work.

The two quartets illustrate a situation in which the composer, because of his broad and appreciative knowledge of musical literature, finds himself attracted to the idea of projecting certain traditional elements into his own work and of dealing with these elements in his own way. Differences in treatment are exactly as great as the difference in temperament and intellectual interests of the two men. Ratner's work reveals in the clearest fashion his wide knowledge of Classic music and his deep sympathy with it; the postulates of that style quite naturally become the point of departure for the development of his personal idiom. Rosen's quartet, while it shows in its first movement a perfectly clear relationship to the sonata form as a form, owes its life and movement to principles that are not typically Classical; they derive more directly from 20th-century sources, partially from jazz, partially from serious music.

E. H. SPARKS



## AUSTRIA

Judging by the tremendous success of the first performance of Hans Erich Apostel's *Fünf Lieder*, Op. 22, one might have thought that the audience was listening to songs by Schubert, Brahms, or Richard Strauss. Apostel, now fifty-four, is the only one of the more immediate followers of Schoenberg who belatedly has achieved such local fame. Unfortunately this fame is in his case a very superficial one, and it is not at all unlikely that he, also an Austrian by choice, will have to share the Austrian fate of his great predecessors.

This is an attempt at a character study, for which the *Fünf Lieder*, Op. 22, composed very recently, furnish a wealth of material. They are sublime manifestations of Apostel's personality and style, of his strongly lyrical nature and infallible instinct for intrinsic form. Apostel's creative process is an extremely painstaking one, evincing discipline and self-control as well as an almost bizarre tendency towards a kind of scientific thoroughness, which is mirrored in the characteristic handwriting in his musical manuscripts; in fact, Apostel's musical handwriting at times has the esthetic appeal of a drawing.

It may well be that these traits, i.e. utmost precision and clarity, reflect his love for the fine arts, especially for painting and the graphic arts. It is notable, however, that, despite impressionistic tendencies, stimulated perhaps by his lack of ability in the visual arts, Apostel never in any of his works poses as an impressionist or painter, let alone as an illustrator. Never does he attempt to use music as a means to conquer that realm of art in which imagination becomes visual reality, no matter how much he may wish to reach it in his pursuit of artistic fulfillment. On the contrary, he apparently likes to carry to its ultimate limits the *art-pour-l'art* principle of purely musical organization inherited from his teachers. The five songs on poems by Rudolf Felmayer are striking examples of this artistic attitude, since the absence of piano accompaniment — they are written for medium voice, flute, clarinet, and bassoon — removes them entirely from tradition and especially from the Impressionistic era of the accompanied song. But their formal design and musical idiom also mark them as specimens of a highly developed variety of art song, which makes considerable demands on both interpreter and listener.

The unified design of the work — properly, it is one extended song consisting of five sections —, its clear structure, and its peculiar archi-

tectonic organization, particularly the symmetrical manner in which the songs are related to one another — all these factors seem to point to a predominance of the constructive element; actually, however, they are the natural result of a consistent creative process, which may well be sustained to some extent by sheer intuition. These features are most evident in the arrangement of the various types of instrumentation: the first and last songs are accompanied by the flute, the second and fourth by flute, clarinet, and bassoon, while the third is given to flute and clarinet. But the structural features of the work are also apparent in form, meter, rhythm, and even in the tempo of each single piece; in fact, the smallest elements of melody and figuration are frequently essential to the over-all design. But Apostel's extraordinary creative talent constantly prevents these exemplary symmetries and structural arrangements from degenerating into rigid formalism; on the contrary, he contrives to sustain a lively interplay of interacting structural units, each of which has its special organic function and its own dynamic effect. The second and fourth songs, for instance, have much in common, even though they are complete opposites with respect to form: the former belongs to the type of songs whose form is generated only by the musical material, i.e. specifically, it drives towards a climax by means of irregular alternation of two different thematic groups, while the latter is a simple five-part rondel. In the first, third, and fifth songs, on the other hand, the formal patterns, while likewise contrasting in many ways, at the same time all follow the same basic (binary) scheme and, in fact, seem to emphasize it prominently for reasons of symmetry. In this connection the middle piece, *Nächtliche Lichter*, subtitled Barcarole, is of particular interest, inasmuch as it is divided into two equal halves by a six-measure instrumental interlude, which acts as a central axis. The two halves of the song relate to one another like two images in two opposite mirrors. This is especially obvious in the instrumental section, in which flute and clarinet present small symmetric figures in constant alternation. It starts with a softly lilting melody in 3/4 time, which gradually changes into even eighth-note motion, then into lively triplets, and reaches a kind of (impressionistic?) transfiguration in the gentle ripples of sixteenth-note figures and trills in contrary motion; thereafter it gradually returns, in a sort of cancrizans fashion, to the quiet 3/4 motion of the beginning. This kind of thing betokens a highly developed sense of musical organization, which is similarly reflected in the intrinsic compactness of Apostel's style and procedure as well as in the rich filigree of thematic work.

These observations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the entire cycle, whose thematic material, based on the ascending half-step C-Db and, after extensive melodic development, returning to the simple inversion Db-C, is already presented in concentrated form in the six introductory measures of the flute.<sup>1</sup>

Ex. 1



The entire work contains hardly any important melodic or rhythmic motif whose essential elements are not present in these first six measures, be it the predominant symbol of the ascending or descending minor second, the triplets, whose first note value is frequently tied to the preceding one or else is taken up by a rest, the sequences of descending fourths or fifths, that at times develop into extended melismas, or the numerous amphibrachic rhythms. Literal repetitions, however, are extremely rare, a fact that is hardly surprising in view of Apostel's fanatic addiction to (and mastery of) variation technique. Without demeaning their lyrical content or formal perfection in any way, one might well describe the five songs as variations on a symptomatic half-step. To define the intrinsic (thematic) and extrinsic (formal) richness of the songs, it might be well to borrow a term from grammar: it derives from the constant inflection of an utterly simple element, while its constant reflection assures their intrinsic and extrinsic unity. The following passages from the vocal part are typical examples:

The almost Brahmsian beginning of the first song (Apostel himself likes to use the label "conservative radicalism" to describe his work):

Ex. 2



<sup>1</sup> Examples copyright 1954 by Universal Edition, Vienna; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers, Inc., New York.

The first half of B<sup>2</sup> of the rondel (its structure being ABaBA):

Ex. 3



The final verse of Number 3:

Ex. 4



A phrase from the fourth song:

Ex. 5



The final verse of Number 5:

Ex. 6



No systematic application of a purely technical procedure guarantees such a far-reaching musical homogeneity in conjunction with the greatest variety of form and content. This is the work of a true creative genius. Moreover, these excerpts are typical of Apostel's sensitive handling of poetry as well as of his skilful treatment of the voice; his vocal lines are always extremely singable. The instrumental parts, which, as a rule, are independently designed with mutually complementary rhythms, make a lively contribution to the progress of the music, but are generally of subordinate importance, except where they coalesce into autonomous forms, e.g. in the preludes and postludes. This is, however, not at all true of the result of the calculated combination of these independent parts. The element of sonority, produced by their merging, is for Apostel as much an object for his creative activity as form itself, and, consequently, he does not adhere rigidly to the principles of the twelve-tone system, which at times contravenes a composer's tendency towards

the use of sonority *per se*. In this, too, Apostel has not only followed Alban Berg, but has even outdistanced his former teacher, since, without completely renouncing the tone-row technique, he switched from twelve-tone composition to pantonality, began to utilize the tritone and its relatives, and also returned the triad to a more prominent position in his musical language. And thus his *Fünf Lieder*, in fact all his mature works, no matter how novel and unprecedented they may be, all show the most exemplary order from a harmonic point of view as well. No one could possibly have anticipated this new stylistic development, which is no less than a transformation and enrichment of the spirit and style of the Schoenberg school.

Whoever expects these five songs to contribute to the solution of some sort of "*Lied* problem" is bound to be disappointed. The performance of contemporary *Lieder* will not have a sudden vogue because of these compositions. They themselves are not likely to be performed except on rare occasions. And while we may thus not have the opportunity to see how they will stand the test of time and popularity, we can nevertheless postulate with assurance that Apostel's songs are works of art created by a sovereign master.

FRIEDRICH SAATHEN

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#### ENGLAND

In a London season crowded with musical events Sir William Walton's first and long-awaited opera, *Troilus and Cressida*, has been singled out for an astonishing amount of attention. A flow of fanfare and comment, for the most part uncritical, preceded and followed its first performance on Dec. 3, 1954, at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden (also broadcast by the BBC). The opera was not given one or two performances but was treated as part of the regular repertory, seven performances being scheduled in London alone and as many more in the provinces. A keen interest in a major work by a composer of Walton's stature is natural enough; it is more extraordinary when such a degree of national attention is accorded a new work.

On the whole, considering the magnitude of the composer and the public interest aroused, *Troilus and Cressida* falls somewhat short of expectations. To be sure, it affirms Walton's gifts as a composer and

contains moments of deeply-felt music, but it offers no new or original solution to the problem of *dramma per musica*. Indeed, it is strongly reminiscent of the later Verdi with respect to its forms and procedures, and the music itself is frankly Romantic in tone. The libretto, by Christopher Hassall, is thoughtfully constructed and sometimes touched by poetic inspiration, but it is not entirely convincing in dramatic unity and mood. The performance, under Sir Malcolm Sargent, was uneven. The orchestra responded nobly to the challenge of Walton's virtuoso orchestration, and the Covent Garden chorus sang brilliantly. The principal singers, however, were somewhat unequal in ability, and the opera would doubtless have made a deeper impression with a better balanced and more experienced cast. On the other hand, *Troilus and Cressida* was well staged, and the sets of the last act (III) were especially well suited to the mood of the action.

The libretto follows the basic outlines of Chaucer's version of this ancient story. The opera opens in the citadel of Troy, besieged by the Greeks:

ACT I: Calkas, high priest of Troy and father of Cressida, is convinced that all is lost, and he attempts to persuade the people that the Delphic Oracle has advised surrender. Failing in this, he deserts to the Greeks. Troilus, son of Priam, in love with Cressida, is aided in his suit by Pandarus, the brother of Calkas.

ACT II: Pandarus, who lives for intrigue, brings the lovers together at his house. What follows leads — according to a commentary by the librettist — “to the breakdown of all reserve.” In *Scene 2*, at daybreak, the mood swiftly changes. Diomedes, the Greek commander, arrives, announcing to Pandarus that Cressida is being sent to the Greek camp in exchange for Antenor, an important Trojan captive. Troilus and Cressida are in despair but they can do nothing but renew their vows of fidelity.

ACT III: It is ten weeks later by the tent of Calkas in the Greek camp. Cressida has heard nothing from Troilus. His messages have all been kept from her by Evadne, her treacherous maid. Diomedes is enamored of Cressida, and finally in despair she gives way. Diomedes prepares to announce her as Queen of Argos. Troilus and Pandarus, under terms of a truce, appear, and beg Cressida and Evadne to fly with them. But it is too late. Cressida, faced by a choice between Troilus and Diomedes, chooses Troilus, and Troilus and Diomedes fight. Calkas stabs Troilus from behind, mortally wounding him. Diomedes orders Calkas and Pandarus back to the Greeks but retains Cressida as an unprivileged prisoner. Left momentarily to herself, she finds Troilus's sword, and with it takes her life.

*Troilus and Cressida* is more impressive as music than as an opera. Some of its lyric moments are singularly beautiful, a case in point being the aria of Troilus (Act I) imploring the aid of Aphrodite in obtaining

Cressida's love. Among the ensembles the Trio in Act II, Scene 1 (Cressida, Pandarus, Troilus) is exceptionally fine in its portrayal of intense emotion. To the large orchestra is entrusted the most forceful music of the opera, music dominated by variety and intensity of rhythms (but why, in accompanying, must the orchestra echo *ad nauseam* the end of the vocal phrase?). The few purely orchestral passages are very effective, notably the interlude following Act II, Scene 1. The orchestra is used to depict what is going on between the lovers, "the breakdown of all reserve," and in this interlude Walton has achieved the frankest musical eroticism since Act II of *Tristan*.

*Troilus and Cressida* is full of musical interest within the limits of its rather conventional plan. Dramatic recitative alternates with the varying degrees of lyricism of the arias, love duets, and other ensembles such as the Trio already mentioned and the Sextet of the opera's final scene. The chorus of Greeks, actually a double chorus, is used effectively in the opening and closing scenes ("False Cressida") not only for its sonority but for its dramatic and visual effect.

From a dramatic point of view, *Troilus and Cressida* suffers chiefly from an imbalance with respect to its main characters. Troilus is a papier-maché creature, and Cressida, although given a role lengthy and impressive enough for the vanity of any soprano, is not a sufficiently realized figure of tragedy to awaken our full sympathies. She is pathetic, not tragic, a prey to her fears and indecisions. We grieve for her but are not emotionally overcome by her fate. The real problem of the opera, however, is the character of Pandarus, the Trojan horse of the opera, so to speak. Intended as comic relief, Pandarus gets completely out of hand, and by confusing cuteness with comedy, ruins the mood of the love scene between Troilus and Cressida in Act II. The composer has emphasized the role of Pandarus by giving him the most consistent and characteristic musical motifs of any of the principals. But it is striking that the most sustained mood of the opera occurs in the last act, where Pandarus had nothing important to do.

The Covent Garden performance was partly responsible for the emphasis on the character of Pandarus, a part assigned to Peter Pears, the most gifted singer and actor of the cast. His superior abilities gave added authority to this role even though he played some of the comic parts in a manner resembling Charley's Aunt. By way of contrast, Richard Lewis was unable to bring Troilus to life; and Magda Laslo, as a lovely Cressida, needed a larger voice, a surer stage presence, and



better English enunciation to do full justice to this important role. In the Covent Garden performance, only the characters of Pandarus and Diomede (played by Otakar Kraus) seemed vivid and real.

Sir William Walton's new opera contains beautiful and moving music, but it has dramatic weaknesses, and it is no landmark in the history of opera. Apart from its intrinsic virtues and defects as a single *oeuvre*, this opera poses a fundamental question: how important is a new work conceived in well-established terms? The reaction of the operatic public to this question will have much to do with the fate of *Troilus and Cressida*.

DAVID D. BOYDEN

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Was Francis Thompson an inspired poet or was he merely an eloquent rhapsodist mad-drunk with the alcohol of intoxicating words? This problem has recently been discussed, acrimoniously but not conclusively, in the Sunday press; one camp insisting that no one takes Thompson seriously today, and the other camp (led by a publisher) pointing out that Thompson is one of our best-selling poets. While this dispute is at its height, in crashes Maurice Jacobson with his setting of *The Hound of Heaven* for tenor solo, chorus, and orchestra, proving that one man at least takes Thompson seriously enough to have brooded for twenty years over his most famous poem and finally paid tribute to it in a score distinguished by adroit musicianship, a powerful dramatic sense, and a passionate, driving sincerity. We may be doubtful about the sheer literary value of Thompson's poem (though few of us can resist the immediate spell of its clashing phrases and audacious imagery) but we must admit that with his poignant music Jacobson has brought it much nearer to our hearts. He has stated that he regards it not necessarily as an affirmation of the Catholic faith but as a human document, an expression of the spiritual perplexity of Everyman. The work was first produced towards the end of last year by the City of Birmingham Choir and Orchestra and it is to be broadcast by the BBC in September.

The main thing that strikes one about this score is the composer's heartfelt appreciation of words: the accent is infallibly right, and the music throughout gives an urgent sense of that awe-inspiring love which



is inescapable. "I fled Him, down the nights and down the days." We begin with somber chords that warn us that this flight is hopeless.<sup>1</sup>

Ex. 1

ALTO *sotto voce ma ben articolato*

1 fled Him, down the nights and down the days;

TENOR

1 fled Him, down the nights and down the days;

BASS

1 fled Him, down the nights and down the days;

Then comes "the unhurrying chase and unperturbèd pace" which recurs now and then with "majestic instancey." Later the tenor, to whom are given the more intimate and personal expressions of panic, protests against this all-possessive love and tells how he sought refuge in other things — expressed in lyrical passages of great beauty. By and by the music dwindles to a pause: the chase is halted for a moment, and the chorus begins a fugue: "Heaven and I wept together."

Ex. 2

*mp*

Hea - - ven and I wept to - ge - ther, wept, Hea - ven and I to - ge - - ther, wept

Then follows a long monologue for the tenor: "For ah! we know not what each other says" leading to "I slept, methinks, and woke, and, slowly gazing, find me stripped in sleep." Here we rise to superb dramatic heights. This monologue is succeeded by the chorus in a kind of solemn cortege: "Yea, faileth now even dream the dreamer." The tenor bursts forth in a striking phrase:

<sup>1</sup> Examples copyright 1954 by Maurice Jacobson. Reprinted by permission of J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd., and G. Schirmer, Inc.

## Ex. 3



Then the chase — “the unhurrying chase and unperturbèd pace” — is resumed until gradually the music suggests the infinite pity that is above all considerations of merit or value that ordinarily govern human relationships.

How little worthy of any love thou art!  
Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee,  
Save Me, save only Me?

And then the voice goes on:

All which thy child's mistake  
Fancies as lost I have stored for thee at home.

This is perhaps the most moving passage in the whole work: “Thy child's mistake . . .” One's memory goes back to a greater poet — “an infant crying for the light, and with no language but a cry.”

The end is masterly. Thompson's lines are transposed so that the music fades in a tranquil finality on the words “I am He . . . I am He.”

STEPHEN WILLIAMS



it impossible to define folk music to the satisfaction of all scholars, accepted the following provisional declaration: "Folk music is music that has been submitted to the process of oral transmission. It is the product of evolution and is dependent on the circumstances of continuity, variation and selection." It is these three principles of continuity, variation, and selection that Sharp enunciates and elucidates convincingly in his chapter, *Evolution*. His approach to the study of folksong, as valid today as when it was first made and perhaps more widely understood, is definitely oriented towards the dynamics of musical creation. The contradictory theories of origin, communal creation versus individual creation, which occupied the Grimm brothers, Schlegel, and other scholars during the first half of the 19th century, do not obscure Sharp's insight into the nature of folksong. He writes, "The solution of the mystery of the origin of the folk-song is to be found not by seeking for an original—that is a vain quest—but by examining the method by which it has been preserved and handed down from one generation to another. In other words, the method of oral transmission is not merely one by which the folk-song lives; it is a process by which it grows and by which it is created."

Miss Karpeles, in her excellent preface to this third edition, presents a viewpoint that is, I believe, more consonant with that of her British colleagues than with the tenets of scholars in the United States. In fact, it seems to this reviewer to be somewhat at variance with Sharp's statement quoted above. Certainly the writing down, printing, and phonographic recording of a folksong *tends* to remove it from the domain of folk music and crystallize it, thereby suspending that process of communal re-creation which Phillips Barry described as "the summation of an indefinite series of individual re-creative acts." But has the process of oral transmission which scholars regard as the *sine qua non* of folksong been blotted out to the extent that Miss Karpeles would have us believe when she writes, "It would seem therefore that the making of folk song, as we understand the term, is very largely a thing of the past?" The fact remains that despite our language literacy we as a nation are musically illiterate and that much of our music-making is by oral transmission. There is no denying that the influence of popular music of urban origin transmitted by sheet music, records, radio, and other means has had a deteriorating effect on folk music. A comparison of some of the Child ballad tunes recorded by Vance Randolph in *Ozark Folksongs* with their counterparts recorded by Sharp in *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* will give some idea of the extent and nature

of the change that has taken place. Though our musical tastes and interests may lead us to pass value judgments upon this material, our scholarly responsibilities require the recording and study of it in its entirety as a social and cultural document. The process by which these songs have changed, are changing, and will continue to change is the age-old one of oral transmission. Whether the direction be positive or negative is a matter of concern to both the connoisseur and the scholar of folksong.

The chapter on Modes only partially clarifies the confusion that has long surrounded this subject. The table of pentatonic modes (p. 45), all anhemitonic, has been altered to bring it into conformity with the system of analysis that Sharp employed in *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. Here the numbering of the modes differs somewhat from that of Helmholtz in *The Sensations of Tone*. Sharp's mode No. 3, F,G,A,C,D,F, corresponds to Helmholtz's mode No. 4, and Sharp's mode No. 4, G,A,C,D,F,G, is the same succession as Helmholtz's mode No. 3. Sharp's modes Nos. 1, 2, and 5 correspond to Helmholtz's modes of the same numbers. Sharp was delicately sensitive to the modal quality of folk music, and his succinct observations should be called to the attention of composers and arrangers who work with this material. If the distinctive quality of a modal melody is to be preserved in its harmonized form, then the harmonization must be made within the modal framework. As an example of good harmonization he quotes the "Sacred Song in the Lydian mode" from Beethoven's Quartet, Op. 132, "harmonized exclusively with diatonic chords of the mode and without, of course, modulation." Modal folksongs have suffered at the hands of modern musicians and Sharp finds Brahms, despite his deep affection for folk music, one of the worst offenders. As an example of harmonization that negates the modal quality of the folk melody he quotes Brahms's setting of *Der Reiter*, replete with chromatic tones and modulations.

Sharp's work in the field of English folksong, terminated by his death in 1924, has borne a rich and continuing harvest. His devotion and industry in the collecting and preservation of a precious ever-changing and vanishing musical culture have been a source of inspiration to students. The rather rare combination of scholarship and musicianship found in happy balance in his studies serves as a model to be emulated. To him more than any other person goes the credit for restoring to the English people an early musical heritage, neglected, forgotten, and almost lost beyond recall. Today his work is memorialized in the Cecil Sharp House in London, an active center dedicated to continuing study

and research in English folksong. If a whole generation of English composers established their musical personality and nationality through their folksong heritage, it is due in no small measure to Sharp's archeological diggings into the musical memories of the folk and his restoration of this treasure through publication to the English people and the world. In his *Appreciation*, Vaughan Williams writes, "It is not mere accident that the sudden emergence of vital invention among our English composers corresponds in time with this resuscitation of our national melody."

WILLARD RHODES

TRAITÉ DE L'ORCHESTRATION. By *Charles Koechlin*. (Éditions Max Eschig, Paris, 1954. Pp. 322.)

The orchestration student's primary concern must be to acquire the ability to hear mentally the sound of each instrument in all situations, as well as the composite sound of the manifold combinations of instruments. This self-training is a never-ending process, knowledge being revised and new knowledge continually gained through the experience of actual hearing. Technical information gathered from books and other sources helps much, but it can never supply that *sine qua non*, the sound impression stored in the memory by hearing.

There are serious and very likely insurmountable obstacles to the codification of an exact science of orchestration. Different orchestras produce different sounds even when playing the same music, and it is well known that the same orchestra sounds differently in a different auditorium. One might say further that no two performances of the same piece by the same orchestra sound exactly alike. Hence there exists a margin of unpredictability as to the ultimate sound of written notes.

Phonograph records and radio broadcasts are imperfect substitutes for the actual hearing of music. They fall short of exact reproduction of the real sounds, as can readily be demonstrated by following the score during a broadcast or recorded performance.

In studying scores one has to remember that the rise in pitch from the 18th century to our time has affected the sound of each instrument; that the instruments are ever in a state of evolution, many having

changed radically since the scores were written; that we cannot know the sound-ideal sought by the composers and instrumentalists of past periods, so we cannot truly judge by present-day performances how successfully the orchestration fulfills its purpose; that present performances often employ instruments other than those indicated by the composer; and so forth.

No orchestration can be realized in sound unless conductor and players are well acquainted with the music. In the performance of familiar and often-played works each member of the orchestra knows the relation of his part to the whole and he is constantly adjusting to the sounds of others. This should be borne in mind when comparing the orchestral sound of a new composition, which may have been given two or three rehearsals, with the sound of a standard work long in the repertory.

The art of orchestration is a living art and it demands a broad and flexible attitude on the part of the student. Sources of information must be made as numerous and varied as possible. The vastness of the posthumously published *Traité de l'Orchestration* by Charles Koechlin certainly recommends itself from this viewpoint. Only the first of the four volumes announced is thus far at hand, but it indicates a treatise of heroic dimensions, the volume being quarto size and 322 pages. There are hundreds of musical illustrations, large and small, excellently chosen and commented upon. One regrets that the examples are not numbered and that no index is provided. Reference page numbers are added in very few instances.

The first volume deals with the individual instruments and with balance of sonority. It is announced that Volume Two will concern itself with writing for the different sections, including a chapter on voices, both solo and choral. Volumes Three and Four will take up orchestration, under such headings as real parts, melody and accompaniment, role of different sections, orchestration with voices, orchestration of a piano piece, various ways to orchestrate the same passage, orchestras of different make-up, orchestral colors, and characteristics of the instruments.

Description of the fingering systems of woodwind instruments is not undertaken. The student desirous of further details is referred to instruction books and the Lavignac *Encyclopédie de la Musique*. Knowledge of the fingerings is indispensable to an understanding of these instruments, and time spent in learning the systems is most profitable. Koechlin

devotes much space to the usual discussion of trills and tremolos on each woodwind instrument, designating various ones as "difficult," "feasible," "possible," "very possible," "difficult but feasible," "mediocre," "bad," "better," etc. As a matter of fact, these terms are of questionable help. Players vary in their capabilities for these effects, and there is also the consideration of how fast or how long the trill needs to be. Furthermore, special trill keys are often added to individual instruments. A knowledge of the normal fingering reveals the technical problems involved in a particular situation, and furnishes a more reliable basis for judgment of playability than does a tabular classification.

The fingering of stringed instruments is described in detail. Likewise the technique of brass instruments is elaborately set forth, including the natural horn, and the French double horn with ascending third piston (rotary valves are not commonly used in France). No mention is made of the tenor-bass trombone, or of the bass trombone with F-attachment and E slide, an important development in the trombone comparable to the invention of the double horn. Information about the tubas is too complex. Numerous instruments are described that are not used in the orchestra, making it difficult for the reader to discover which are the instruments used to play the parts designated "tuba" in orchestral scores.

Though the separate instruments are given somewhat uneven attention, the observations and copious examples showing their uses in the orchestra are instructive and stimulating.

In the second part of the book Koechlin studies the important problem of balance of tone between instruments and between groups of instruments. It cannot be said that he succeeds in formulating rules of procedure. There are just too many qualifying circumstances that may bear upon a given situation. For instance, it is misleading to show how many woodwinds Beethoven considered an adequate balance to the body of strings, without reminding the reader of the enormous difference in size between Beethoven's string section and that of, let us say, the Philharmonic-Symphony. But the student of orchestration will find much to think about in the array of musical examples and the points raised by them.

The concept of volume as opposed to intensity is introduced in connection with the problem of balance. A flute descending into its low register gains in volume but loses in intensity, whereas its high notes have more intensity and less volume. He presents a comparative scale of intensities and volumes of all instruments, and also a tabulation of their relative capacities for achieving given dynamic levels.



This treatise, when published in its entirety, will be a valued addition to the imposing list of theoretical works by Koechlin: *Traité de l'Harmonie* (3 vols.); *Précis des Règles du Contrepoint*; *Solfège Progressif* (2 vols.); *Etude sur les Notes de Passage*; *Etude sur le Chorale d'Ecole*; *Etude sur l'Ecriture de la Fugue d'Ecole*. Koechlin as a theorist is somewhat more liberal than other French theoretical writers. He attempts to bridge the gap between theory and practice, emphasizing contraventions of the rules found in the music of the masters and at the same time stressing the necessity for discipline.

Some errors are to be noticed, for the most part typographical and not disturbing. The following is, however, inexplicable and rather amusing.

In his Suite for Stringed Instruments and Percussion, Béla Bartók distinguishes 3 kinds of *pizzicato*, by means of the following indications (1) "with the fingernail," at the upper end of the string (that is near the bridge) — hard and dry sound; (2) "at the edge of the skin" (that is, I think, with the end of the finger, close to the nail) — less hard and dry than with the nail; (3) "in the center of the skin" (that is, I think, in the middle of the first joint) — soft sound. In general, care is not taken to note with such precision what is wanted; however, such indications may prove to be very useful.

In the first place, Bartók's footnote (Universal Edition, page 28) clearly says the string is to be plucked with the fingernail close to the stopping finger, not the bridge; and, in the second place, the skin referred to is not the skin of the player's finger but the head of the snare drum!

WALTER PISTON

THE RHYTHM OF TWELFTH-CENTURY POLYPHONY, ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE. By William G. Waite. (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1954. Pp. x, 141, 254.)

What a veritable treasure-trove of medieval polyphony was opened up by the publication in 1931 of the facsimile edition of the Wolfenbüttel MS 677, in J. H. Baxter's *An Old St. Andrew's Music Book!* Here for the first time music students could readily examine the extensive repertory of the *Magnus Liber Organi de Graduali et Antiphonario*, the choir-book of Notre Dame Cathedral in 12th-century Paris.

The *Magnus Liber* had been described c. 1280 A.D. by an anonymous Englishman in a tract published in 1864 by Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica*, I (Anonymus IV). Nothing was known of the music in modern times, however, until L. Delisle published a study of the Medici Antiphonary in the *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* for 1885. Wilhelm Meyer in *Der Ursprung des Motetts*, 1898, identified the contents of this Florentine MS with those of the *Magnus Liber*. Then Wooldridge, in his section of *The Oxford History of Music*, 1901, made an extensive exposition of this relatively unknown period in music history, the first era of polyphonic composition. Only a few examples could be cited in a history of that sort, and there remained many vexatious problems of form and notation. In the meantime, several other MS collections of this repertory had come to light.

During the decade prior to World War I, Friedrich Ludwig published several studies of this music, notably his *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, 1910. Here further identification of the actual musical compositions comprising the *Magnus Liber* was attempted, and detailed studies were made of the notation. Between the wars, studies by Handschin and Husmann discussed special aspects of the organa and conductus contained in this repertory.

The Baxter facsimile edition in 1931, and its index published in 1939 by Dom Anselm Hughes, gave a clear idea of the scope and nature of the music, but we still lacked comprehensive editions in modern notation for the non-specialist. In 1941, this magazine published a study of the conductus by the present reviewer with a survey of available transcriptions and fifteen pages of additional examples. Husmann's edition of the three- and four-part organa appeared in Volume XI of the *Publikationen älterer Musik*, 1940.

Now, in this present volume, Waite makes available in clear, direct, modern transcription what is believed to be the original two-part organa which comprised Leonin's *Magnus Liber* of Notre Dame, a total of forty-six compositions composed c. 1160. Here is a cycle of works for the major feasts of the church year, built upon plainsongs from the Antiphonary and the Gradual on a scale comparable to later cycles such as Palestrina's *Hymni Totius Anni*, Byrd's *Gradualia*, or the J. S. Bach cantatas. Waite's edition is a valuable addition to the repertory available for Collegium Musicum programs on university campuses. It is equally worthy of restoration to its designated position in the music of the liturgy, especially in those church services that have restored the

use of much of the traditional plainsong. Leonin's two-part settings of Alleluias and Versicles would embellish the Gradual at a High Mass today every bit as well as they did during the century or more in which they were being recopied and sung from Spain to Scotland. Scholars are generally agreed that the duplum was sung by a solo voice while the plainsong tenor was intoned by a group of singers. The effect produced when the duplum is played on a recorder, or the flute stop of an organ, is so pleasant, however, that serious consideration should be given to this means of performance. But in any case do perform these works! Here is great music of the past which should no longer remain the exclusive interest of a few musical archaeologists.

While Waite's work is invaluable because of its 254 pages of organa in modern notation, that is but the latter half of his book. Preceding the transcriptions are 130 pages with extensive citations in which he deals with the entire problem of 12th-century notation on the most exhaustive scale on which the subject has ever been discussed. Waite had already made passing reference to his conclusions on the rhythm of the organa in an article, *Discantus, Copula, Organum*, in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, V (1952), 77-87. These were sharply attacked by Willi Apel in the following issue of the *Journal*, V (1952), 272. Apel made his criticism on the basis of arguments that he had advanced several years earlier in an article, *From St. Martial to Notre Dame*, in the same *Journal*, II (1949), 145-58, where he explained in some detail his reasons for reversing his earlier position on the subject of 12th-century rhythm as detailed in the first editions of his *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 1942 ff. Waite answered Apel's criticism in the *Journal*, V (1952), 273-76, but it remained for the publication of his full exposition of modal rhythm in the present work to demonstrate the real scope of his reasoning and its documentation. This is well handled, with copious quotations and translations from all the relevant theorists of the Middle Ages.

The present reviewer is fully prepared to accept Waite's conclusions as to the application of modal rhythm to all of the music of the Notre Dame era, organa, conductus, and clausulae, and to accept his interpretation of the ligatures for the most part. However, there are two concomitants which must not be overlooked: If this rhythm is applied to such metrical songs as the conductus *Quid tu vides Jeremia* (*Musical Quarterly*, XXVII [1941], 194-96), it probably should equally apply to other metrical songs of the period — the plainsong hymns, portions of the liturgical dramas, and the troubadour lyrics. Secondly, one hesi-

tates in actual performance to add this ternary rhythmic pulse to the basic trochaic meter of the verse. Six-eight time under these conditions makes too much stress, at least for a modern singer. It may be necessary to transcribe the music in this manner, owing to the limitations of even modern notation, but certainly in performance we should give less metrical stress where text is involved so that the basic pulse is similar between syllabic and melismatic sections of a single composition.

Waite advances the thesis that Leonin began with the use of the first of the rhythmic modes in his two-part organa, and demonstrates how the other five modes logically developed from this. He offers an interesting and reasonable theory that Leonin derived this first mode from St. Augustine of Hippo's theory of rhythm, as set forth in the latter's *De Musica*. Waite identifies the Augustinian *metrum* with the *ordo* of modal rhythm, showing that in both systems the rest is a determining factor.

It now remains to complete the links between Leonin and St. Augustine by demonstrating how the Augustinian theories may have been applied in the rhythm of plainsong. Reese (*Music in the Middle Ages*) has summarized the various theories that have been advanced regarding plainsong rhythm. Arguments put forth by some of the so-called mensuralists would support the use of Augustinian rhythm, while others counter it. Waite touches briefly on the possibility of a tradition of metrical or modal rhythm prior to the Notre Dame School, but does not develop the subject in this present work; it is to be hoped that he will do so in a future study, for it is a vital point.

Waite concludes his study with five pages of bibliography covering all of the modern works on the subject of modal rhythm and its notation. To this should be added an important article that appeared while Waite's work was in press: L. A. Dittmer, *Binary Rhythm, Musical Theory and the Worcester Fragments*, in *Musica Disciplina*, VII (1953), 39-57. This author presents a strong case for the use of binary rhythm in the third mode in English music of the period.

LEONARD ELLINWOOD

CHARLES IVES AND HIS MUSIC. By Henry and Sidney Cowell. (Oxford University Press, New York, 1955. Pp. 225.)

On both jacket and title page, the name of Charles Ives appears in

considerably larger type than the subsequent phrase that completes the Cowells' title. This, in other words, is primarily a book about Ives the man, although the ninth of its ten chapters consists of an extremely penetrating discussion of his style in general, and the tenth provides detailed analyses of two representative works, the *Concord Sonata* and the song entitled *Paracelsus*.

A good deal of the story is familiar through previous publications by the Cowells and others, but all of it has not previously been brought together in a single book-length study. Mr. and Mrs. Cowell also devote a chapter to one aspect of Ives that up to now has only been mentioned in passing — his career in business. He built up from scratch what became, by the time of his retirement in 1930, the largest single insurance agency in the United States. Characteristically, however, he refused to accept anything more than a salary tailored to his comparatively modest needs.

He had strong moral convictions about business, as he did about music and about life as a whole. Often these convictions led him off into visionary, transcendental realms of thought. It is no accident that he ended his musical career (this we learn from the present book) with a *Universe Symphony* the last movement of which should deal with "The rise of all to the spiritual," and that this work was "not intended to be completed by the composer himself nor by any other one man, because it represents an aspect of life about which there is always more to be said."

In some other cases, works of Ives exist only as a disorderly and indecipherable heap of sketches, not because "there is always more to be said," but because there was nothing more to be said; his ideas sometimes led him into blind alleys. And yet the legend of the "impossible" Ives can be exaggerated. The difficulties of his piano music have been solved, and likewise the difficulties presented by many of his songs. The Cowells provide a clue to the solution of another famous Ivesian problem, that of the polymetric notation through which a page of his orchestral music may look like a capricious mosaic of differing time signatures presented simultaneously. "The apparently insoluble problem of performing such music with a single conductor," say the authors, "can be met easily if the orchestra is divided, as Ives intended, under two leaders. The two parts of the orchestra then go their separate ways, coinciding perhaps at certain points, perhaps not. This is extremely difficult to write down and to read, but if the music is understood as having

been intended to move along freely, each group taking its own tempo for a certain space, so that the important thing is the horizontal line and its forward-moving drive, the perpendicular collisions are immaterial, and the music is not at all difficult to manage in performance."

This concept of orchestral discipline arises, we are told, from Ives's childhood experience with the town band of Danbury, Connecticut, which contained "a nervous viola player" who moved "at his own pace, winding up, as a general thing, several measures ahead of everybody else," and a "lethargic character who played the horn" and invariably lagged behind, so that "it became the regular procedure for the band to play its cadence with a flourish and then wait quietly at attention (arms akimbo was customary) until the horn player got through *his* last two measures alone." All this seemed very natural to Ives, as did the off-pitch singing of the Danbury choirs and congregations or the sticky, unpredictable keys on the harmoniums and organs. Many of Ives's most "advanced" innovations go back to such "primitive" musical phenomena. They arose from a sense of community with a special tradition, as did the innovations of Béla Bartók, but, as is usually the case, it has taken a long time for them to receive any general acceptance. Bartók lived through the same paradox, and now that Ives is dead, his music will probably be performed as extensively as that of his Hungarian contemporary.

Everyone knows that Charles Ives was the son of the Danbury bandmaster and music teacher, George Ives, who had a pronouncedly experimental turn of mind, that he grew up in the atmosphere of his father's studio and bandstand and in the churches and camp meetings of Danbury, that he studied music and many other things at Yale, that he went into business because he wanted to avoid the compromises of musical professionalism, and that he made his isolation doubly sure by refusing to make the slightest effort on behalf of his own works and by placing obstacles in the way of those who desired to do something for it. All this is told by the Cowells with great warmth and sympathy and with rich, arresting detail. They also go into detail about the world's discovery of Ives and the "career" of his music, and, as is indicated above, they offer two chapters of stylistic analysis, one general, one specific. Appendices include a chronological list of Ives's works, with much information about them, and a bibliography.

The book, as the authors themselves realize, is a beginning. Much remains to be done if a critical estimate quoted on the Cowells' jacket is correct: "Ives is America's most original, important, and creative



composer." We shall need much more by way of analysis of individual works, and we could use a collection of Ives's essays, letters, prefaces, and other literary statements. He was a man of great literary culture and profound philosophic temperament, and he wielded a fabulous prose style wherein tense is piled on tense as tonality is piled on tonality in his music. Only he could have written "If you want something played, write something you do not want played." This epigram was distilled from the bitterest personal experience. That he is now an accepted figure, and one whose music is largely open to exploration after long hermetic years, is due, in no small part, to Henry Cowell's pioneering enthusiasm, and it is fitting that Cowell and his wife should give us the first book about him.

ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

HARMONY. By *Heinrich Schenker*. Edited and annotated by *Oswald Jonas*; translated by *Elizabeth Mann Borgese*. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1954. Pp. 359, XXXII.)

Heinrich Schenker published his *Harmonielehre* anonymously in 1906. It was the first of a series of theoretical and analytical works more profound and revolutionary than anything to be found in the field since the 18th century. In fact, it and its companion pieces combine the author's own provocative and visionary approach to music with many of Rameau's ideas, belatedly clarified and refined, and others from C. P. E. Bach's *Essay* and Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus*. The product represents a sensitively equilibrated union of the harmonic, contrapuntal, and structural factors of musical composition.

In the *Harmonielehre*, Schenker built the general structure for his later works. He found music to be a seed of nature fructified by certain great or gifted composers; he found the most satisfactory basis for musical coherence to be the major-scale system and its artistic opposite, the minor; he discussed the motif as the generator of organic life. He also revealed a chronic unwillingness to come to terms with early music and an intolerance of contemporary composers. But side by side with expendable elements are an abundance of piercing insights into the nature of music and the formative elements that give it persuasive continuity. These are evident in such ground-breaking sections as *Die Lehre von der Stufe* (*Theory of Scale Steps*), *Von der Psychologie der Chromatik*

*und der Alteration* (inaccurately translated as *On the Psychology of Chromatic Alteration*), and *Mischungen* (strangely translated as *Combinations*). It is here that he established, first, a principle of relationship between the diatonic and chromatic elements of music, and then, in an epoch-making manner, the difference between broad directive harmonies (*Stufen*) and the chordal and linear details of music. A comparison of part of his analysis of the 15th variation of the Diabelli set with a recent analysis by the late Arnold Schoenberg<sup>1</sup> will indicate perhaps most clearly the advanced position that he had reached in 1906 with respect to harmonic functions or steps.

*Presto scherzando*

Schenker: (C) I<sup>b</sup> - - - - - IV - - - - - I  
 Schoenberg: (C) I<sup>b</sup> VII<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> VII<sup>b</sup> III<sup>b</sup> III<sup>b</sup> IV<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>

Following the *Harmonielehre* Schenker was left with many taxing problems; it was not until the 1920's that he made significant advances in working out the functions of counterpoint or part-writing through the agency of the directed or determinate motion (*Zug*) and attendant techniques such as arpeggiation (*Brechung*), unfolding (*Ausfaltung*), and specific readings of various types of diminution. Simultaneously there came a sharper delineation of the nature of the harmonic step and the ways in which these concepts served the total structure of composition. Inevitably the mooted *Urlinie* and *Ursatz* also made their appearance. All of this was accompanied by the perfecting of a graphic method of presenting the inner content of music in the form of sketches. Such mention as is made of these matters in the *Harmonielehre* is rudimentary and desultory.

The jacket of the present, abridged translation carries the information that this is "The Only English Translation of a Classic in Musical Theory." If the statement should prove to be prophetic, which seems likely, it is much to be hoped that a painstaking revision will soon make its appearance. The translator, Elizabeth Mann Borgese, and the editor-

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, *Structural Functions of Harmony*, New York, 1954, Ex. 102a.



annotator, Oswald Jonas, are lacking not in impressive dedication to a difficult task, but in familiarity with idiomatic English. The result is an over-all awkwardness which often flirts with mistranslation. *Es geht nicht an* becomes *it is illicit*, where Schenker meant simply *it is wrong* or *erroneous*; *müssig* becomes *moot* where *idle* or *academic* is intended; *Drei- resp. Sechseindeutigkeit* becomes *trivalence* or *six-valence* (the use of *valent* for *deutig* throughout will send many readers to the dictionary); *Dreistimmigkeit* becomes the hybrid, *Three-phony*. A summary of these extremes can be found in the translation of the following: ". . . die Beziehung von Fis, A, H, Dis . . . die sehr wohl auch als Umkehrung des Vierklanges von H und in diesem Sinne als selbständige fünfte Stufe in E-moll gelten könnte . . ." takes the form of "The construct, F-sharp, A, B, D-sharp, . . . dissembles a seventh chord on B, in its second inversion."

Although no one should underestimate the challenge of translating Schenker's frequently turgid and unliterary German, it is apparent that many of the difficulties that the American reader must now face might have been removed by a native editor with a working knowledge of music and German. Such a person might have translated the German pitch-name H into B more consistently, and removed many disturbing features from the examples, ranging from the omission of accidentals to analyses that differ from the original without explanation. A good illustration is Example 38, the opening measures of the Brahms Intermezzo, Opus 117, No. 2, here placed in the key of C-flat minor. In

7

VII 4

7

measure 8 Schenker reads the harmony as (V) 3; here it is called IV 4;

3

but in Dr. Jonas's appendix it becomes (II 7-6). Is this an oversight, a correction, or confusion? In any event, Schenker's original seems to be the more imaginative and penetrating reading despite Dr. Jonas's use of the graphic method of the fully developed theory in order to confirm his own analysis.

More serious than these faults, ranging from minor obstructions to sizable road blocks, is the editor's orientation. He is apparently orthodox in his acceptance of all aspects of Schenker's esthetic as well as his system of analysis. The former was often naive, constricting, and willful. In its extreme form, which is the form adopted by the strict constructionists, it held that great music was written exclusively by a company of composers made up essentially of ten Germans, one Italian, and one

Pole. Further it held that the history of music before 1700 represented a struggle, largely unsuccessful, on the part of the creator to free himself from bad theory, that during the period from 1700 to 1900 great composers flourished despite the increase in bad theorists (exceptions among the latter being C. P. E. Bach and, with reservations, Johann Joseph Fux), that following the death of Brahms music has gone into an infuriating decline, despite the presence of one inspired theorist. If we measure Schenker's truly great accomplishments against this unacceptable creed, it becomes apparent that his musical tastes were understandable only as a precondition to the development of his system. What he did unwittingly, but in effect, was to limit his field of inquiry to composers of acknowledged preeminence in order more certainly to gain positive results. But if the system is to be anything more than a highly selective style study, hence perishable, it must emerge from the laboratory incidental to its formulation. It is these restrictive features that Susanne K. Langer seems to have in mind when she writes: "Yet it may even be that the *Urlinie* is not an unalterable law of all music, but only of our European development of music; that Schenker has discovered not so much the principle of the art itself, as of the 'Great Tradition'."<sup>2</sup>

When Dr. Jonas, quoting Schenker in one of his footnotes, remarks that "Only the genius is endowed with a feeling for tone space," he is either flattering many of us beyond our deserts or, more likely, he is posting a despairing limit to participation in the "Great Tradition." In his Introduction he describes Rameau's theory as perhaps "adequate for an understanding of his own music" and thereby implies a curious limit to the usefulness of Schenker's theory. When he asserts, in connection with the dissenters, that the burden of proof is now on those who claim that there are other foundations for music to rest upon, he seems to be involved in a bewildering paradox. Since he believes that the system serves only the genius and the "Great Tradition," there must obviously be other foundations for the art to rest upon. The proof, burdensome or otherwise, is a towering mountain of music, regarded as slag only by the most ritualistic of the pharisees.

Felix Salzer has recognized the fruitlessness of this point of view. He writes: "Schenker used as illustrations . . . the music which lay so close to his heart and mind. . . . I have become convinced, however, that his ideas apply to widely diverse styles of music and that the broad

<sup>2</sup> Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form*, New York, 1953, p. 124.

conception underlying his approach is not confined to any limited period of music history."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Jonas, in an intemperate footnote, takes exception to this liberated point of view, despite impressive evidence to the contrary; evidence that the system is more than a mere theory of the "Great Tradition." Although Schenker's approach is understandably, even obviously, rich in results when applied to the works of such towering figures as Mozart or Beethoven, its more enduring and serviceable parts are concerned less with the certification of genius than they are with a clean, fresh analytic attitude towards the texture of all music. These parts are bent on a constant discovery of the shaping and the shaped forces of music. At their best they provide us, not with an *Umlinie*, but with a way of recording, while enriching, our musical experience. They provide us with a point of view that invites challenge from the creative imagination, and comes as close to revealing the values of that imagination as any "system" can. These are the parts of the greater Schenker that evidently must be rescued from the lesser Schenkers.

WILLIAM J. MITCHELL

<sup>3</sup> Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing*, New York, 1952, p. XVI.

## REVIEWS OF RECORDS

BARTÓK: *Rhapsody for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 1*. Andor Foldes, piano; Lamoureux Orchestra, cond. Roger Desormière. *Concerto No. 2 for Piano and Orchestra*. Foldes, piano; Lamoureux Orchestra, cond. Eugene Bigot. 12" LP. Vox PL 8220.

In 1904 Béla Bartók, then twenty-three years old, wrote a Rhapsody for piano and orchestra. It is a skilled work, conventional in the post-Lisztian manner, with flourishes and rich instrumentation. It has rather slight originality but is an insured success as a well written, splurging Romantic piece. It bears the same sort of relationship to the mature Bartók as *Verklärte Nacht* does to the mature Schoenberg, and will probably prove immensely popular among those who cannot fathom late Bartók, but who wish to be on his powerful bandwagon. It is, also, a real showpiece for the "grand manner" pianist. It is no less difficult to play than the rhapsodies of Liszt, but the fireworks are more integrated with the whole piece than in some Liszt paraphrases. It is still, however, a piano solo with orchestral accompaniment.

Andor Foldes's playing is good, and embodies the real tradition for this sort of piece. The orchestra, although showing growth in the past few years, and although conducted by one of Europe's best men, is only the equal of our lesser symphonic bodies, not of our best. The strings are frequently out of tune, and the woodwind, particularly in solo passages, have a very thin, nasal quality which may be partly due to the recording technique. The recording does not otherwise have technical flaws, but although it presents a well balanced concert sound, it is not very brilliant or incisive.

Andor Foldes also plays very well in the Concerto No. 2, and this is the more remarkable because this work demands a totally different pianistic approach. It is the slicked-up, debonair amusement-for-amusement's-sake, modern French approach of the 1930's (when the work was written), demanding a crisp, non-Romantic touch which is supplied as indicated by Foldes. This work, although giving the piano an important part, is not a concerto with orchestral accompaniment; rather the piano is one of the total number of instruments that contribute to

the musical whole, and it is much more integrated with the rest of the orchestra than is the case in most concertos. The general style, witty and sophisticated, is not unrelated to that of Prokofiev of the same period. This is a far cry from the 19th-century manner of the Rhapsody, and the two works have only this in common, that neither is very closely related to folk music. With all of Bartók's compositions there is a certain background of his knowledge of folk material; but both the works on this record represent as far a departure as he ever makes in the direction of generally known art-music forms, in the first case related to Liszt, in the second to Prokofiev.

The scoring is scintillating, deft, effective, unique. In the first and last movements, the rhythm is rapid and impelling. In the middle movement, impressionistic, quiet strings move slowly and rather vaguely at the beginning and end, interspersed with solo piano lines which seem somehow unrelated. The middle section is a definite surprise in the form of an incredibly energetic *presto*—asymmetrically accented notes of similar note-length punctuated with body-twitching syncopations; but this all subsides back into the misty A section without clear reason. A surprising and unconventional movement.

This recording is acoustically brighter but thinner in tone than that of the Rhapsody. With the same normal setting of controls on a good play-back there are more highs, but turning on all the machine's bass failed to obtain the best result in the low register. It is, in general, well recorded, but it is not top-notch in sound values.

HENRY COWELL

BARTÓK: *Improvisations*, Op. 20; *For Children* (1945). Carl Seeman, piano. 10" LP. Decca DL 4085.

*For Children* is a series of piano pieces based on Hungarian and Slovakian folksongs. The tunes are stated simply and supported by harmonic textures that are clear and choice. Even though the harmonic palette is unconventional the music is easily accessible to the young and a delight to all. Bartók has drawn heavily on his creative imagination while working within the technical bounds of teaching material.

In the *Improvisations*, also based on authentic folksongs, Bartók develops and changes the actual tunes. Throughout these eight pieces

an array of technical devices are put into dramatic play by an unusually creative musician. Ostinatos, pedals, canons, mirrors, modal shifts, and bitonal structures are employed while making music that has meaning for the ear.

Carl Seeman furrows out each subtlety, yet preserves the over-all line. The record is another notable addition to the swelling library of recorded contemporary music.

VINCENT PERSICHETTI

MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER: *Mass and Symphony Assumpta est Maria*. M. Angelici, J. Archimbault, sopranos; S. Michel, J. Collart, altos; J. Girardeau, tenor; L. Noguera, baritone; choir of Jeunesses Musicales de France; Henriette Roget, organ; cond. Louis Martini. 12" LP. Vox PL 8440.

MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER: *Midnight Mass* [*Messe de Minuit à 4 voix, flûtes, et violons, pour Noël*]. ANTONIO VIVALDI: *Gloria*. Ensemble Vocal de Paris; Orchestre de la Société des Concerts; cond. André Jouve. 12" LP. Westminster WL 5287.

Those skeptical of the claim, voiced more and more frequently in the past few years, that Marc-Antoine Charpentier was the greatest 17th-century French composer of vocal music may herewith be satisfied that there is some validity in it. In the *Mass Assumpta est Maria* we are given an integral and dedicated performance of an extended work calling for the widest possible range of expressive gestures. And it is undeniably impressive; one understands why even the arch-Lullist Le Cerf de la Viéville had to admit that Lully's church music "is something insipid . . . compared to the works of other composers." There is nothing insipid about Charpentier's *Mass on the Assumption of the Virgin*. It is rich and multicolored in all respects: sonorously, texturally, harmonically, dynamically, and most of all expressively.

The *Midnight Mass* is another matter. Two more disparate settings of the *Mass* by the same composer could hardly be imagined. A listener favored—or cursed—with synesthetic responses will come away from *Assumpta est Maria* with a memory of rich dark hues, perhaps purples and royal blues; from the *Midnight Mass* bedazzled with bright yellows and reds. In Charpentier's own terms, one difference would lie in the contrast between the principal keys of the two works, the D minor of

the *Assumpta est Maria* Mass being for him a "serious and devout" key, the *Midnight Mass*'s D major possessing a "joyous and very warlike" *énergie*.

The Assumption Mass is a spacious work fully 50 minutes long. It is written for soloists and six-part chorus, some of the parts occasionally divided to enrich the sonorities, plus a four-part orchestra of strings with organ as the core of the *continuo* group. Flutes are added to the strings in this recording; they are used with good effect instead of violins in the serene and contemplative "simphonie devant et après l'Agnus Dei." Needless to say, the record jacket's proud announcement of "Mass and Symphony" means only that the instruments are heard in independent movements—specifically, before and after the Kyrie and Agnus Dei and before the Sanctus. The *Midnight Mass*, in contrast, is a terse setting of the Ordinary nowhere nearly so concerned with exploring a wide range of musical and emotional levels. Most of its music is based on French *noël* tunes completely appropriate, of course, as source-material for a Christmastide Mass, and imparting to the entire work a popular, almost a carnivalesque, flavor. Charpentier treats his material in a variety of ways. Now he sets *Les bourgeois de Chastre* in stamping homophony at the words *laudamus te* in the Gloria. Now *Or nous dites Marie* is combined with a chaconne-like chromatically descending bass (Christe). The angular melody of *Voici le jour solennel de Noël*, set for vocal trio, two violins, and *basso continuo*, is the source of the Crucifixus. To some ears, the apparent levity of this last movement and the tripping, minuet-like rhythms of the Agnus Dei may come as something of a shock. Surely no more consistently rollicking setting of the Mass can be found. Like *Assumpta est Maria*, the *Midnight Mass* utilizes a four-part string orchestra, with flutes (specifically and carefully designated in the manuscript of this Mass) occasionally joining the violins or substituting for them. As in the Assumption Mass, the instruments and the organ have brief *symphonies*; unlike the Mass to the Virgin, however, the *Messe de Minuit* utilizes the "symphonies" for purposes of economy; they usually form an integral part of the liturgical structure. Thus, the tripartite Agnus Dei has text only in the second part; the orchestra alone plays the first and third parts, the whole movement being unified by the same *noël*, *A minuit fut fait un réveil*. The chorus of the *Midnight Mass* is a four-part group, and there are no solo ensembles larger than a trio.

The larger movements of both Masses—the Gloria and the Credo—are disposed in the manner of *grands motets*. Their texts are divided into large chunks; these are then set as self-contained sub-movements, one





Gloria (*cf.* the settings of the same words in the Agnus Dei and in the parallel passages of the *Midnight Mass*). In response to the affective emphasis of the words, Charpentier's favorite "neuvièmes et tritons" appear in surprising numbers (see the example).

The editions used for these recordings, and the performances of both works, are in general very commendable. *Assumpta est Maria* is the editorial product of Guy-Lambert, for more than a decade the world's most ardent partisan of Charpentier's music. His realizations and interpretative principles emphasize the French side of Charpentier as opposed to the Italian, the impending Rococo as opposed to the Baroque. Although never exceeding the bounds of taste, he likes rather elaborate *continuo* realizations and heavily ornamented vocal lines, in which the graces are lovingly dwelt upon in consistently slow realizations. The performance of the *Midnight Mass* seems conditioned by the exigencies of one LP record side; the tempos are rather fast and there is no sense of breadth or serenity. The most interesting, if most controversial, aspect of the reading of the *Messe de Minuit* is the extensive use of *notes inégales*. Nowhere in Charpentier's manuscripts is there an indication that he shared his French contemporaries' fondness for this rhythmic convention. To be sure, one seldom finds in French music of the period specific instructions for double-dotting. But one often finds a cautionary injunction that a certain passage is to be played "straight," with even notes ("andante," "croches égales," or "à l'italienne"). It seems strange that Charpentier—a composer steeped in the national idioms of both Italy and France—would not have marked some of his music to be played "à l'italienne"—unless *all* of it was to be played as written; that is, without uneven notes. Arguments aside, however, one must admit that the application of *notes inégales* to the lighthearted *noëls* on which the *Midnight Mass* is based adds to the skipping jubilation of the work.

Another intriguing aspect of these two Masses is that Charpentier asks, in both manuscripts, for music that he leaves unwritten. In *Assumpta est Maria*, organ *couplets* are to be played between Kyrie I and Christe, and, "s'il y a du temps," in place of a sung Benedictus. Again, "if there is time," an Elevation motet is to be sung. Guy-Lambert has written two organ pieces (apparently; they are not attributed to anyone else) that are very precisely attuned to Charpentier's style; and he has borrowed an exquisite motet for soprano and *continuo*, *In odorem*, from the Vespers service of the Feast of the Assumption. The editor of the *Midnight Mass* has turned to one of Charpentier's contemporaries, Nicolas Lebègue, for the organ *couplets* within the Kyrie; Lebègue is

also the composer of the setting of *Laissez paître vos bêtes* played as the Offertory.

The Vivaldi *Gloria* that occupies the reverse side of Charpentier's *Messe de Minuit* is already known to musicians in a Vox recording issued several years ago (Vox PLP 6610). The present version compresses into one record side what took two complete sides before. This makes for an exciting performance, but one that reminds us of a legendary complaint made by Sir Thomas Beecham anent 20th-century tempos. We sometimes forget, the story goes, that our notion of speed is bounded at the upper end by jet aircraft, while that of 18th-century musicians was limited to a runaway horse.

H. WILEY HITCHCOCK

KHATCHATURIAN: *Symphony No. 2*. National Philharmonic Orchestra cond. by the composer. 12" LP. Colosseum Records, Inc. CRLP 136.

Khatchaturian wrote his Second Symphony in the midst of war; it was first performed in Moscow on Dec. 30, 1943; later he revised the score, and changed the order of its middle movements. In this new version the Second Symphony was given in Moscow on March 6, 1944.

The Soviet music analyst Georgy Khubov, writing in a collection of essays published by *Sovietskaya Musica* in 1946, calls it a *Symphony with the Bell* and quotes John Donne's famous lines on the tolling of the bell as an epigraph. He states that the work was inspired by "the heroic struggle of the Soviet people in the days of the great patriotic war, and by the theme of national grief and spirit of vengeance." Khatchaturian accepted this interpretation, but the score itself contains no discoverable passages illustrative of the mortal combat. The prevalent mood is that of sing-song in minor keys, with chromatic alterations creating characteristic sesquitones—i.e. homonymous minor thirds and augmented seconds. The device immediately conjures up an oriental atmosphere familiar from the scores of the Russian masters of 19th-century music. Melismatic figures pivoted on a repeated note contribute to this impression of the musical Orient; pendulous appoggiaturas abound; drooping suspensions of a minor second occasionally coalesce with the principal note, forming a series of frictional harmonies.

Khatchaturian's music is essentially homophonic; his counterpoint is

a succession of canonic echoes rather than an organic development of thematic fragments. His triads and seventh-chords move in parallel progressions; there are sequences building up chromatically towards an anticipated but none the less effective climax; most of the time, these Russo-oriental harmonies repose on deep and long sustained pedal points.

The Symphony is in four movements, in a fairly regular alternation of *Allegro* and *Andante*. It is interesting to note that despite the strong nationalistic trend in Soviet music, no attempt has been made by any Soviet composer to replace the consecrated Italian tempo marks by their Russian equivalents; nothing to parallel Beethoven's *Hammerklavier*. Khatchaturian, too, uses Italian terminology in his scores.

The surprise of this Symphony is the use of *Dies Irae* as a symbolic theme in the third movement. This is probably the only occurrence of this medieval melody in any Soviet work. The finale is symbolic of the eventual victory in the war, analogous in this respect to the conception of Shostakovitch's "Leningrad Symphony," and it is in C major, a key that has a tremendous appeal to all Russian composers as a symbol of redemption for whatever chromatic deviations are committed in the body of the work. Thus, Scriabin's highly chromatic *Poem of Ecstasy* ends with a sonorous display of C major lasting for 53 measures.

According to the American distributors of this recording, the performance is by the National Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by the composer. But there is no National Philharmonic Orchestra in Moscow or anywhere else in Russia. The presumption, therefore, is that the present release is taken from a Russian recording made with a specially recruited orchestra. As to the "dynamic balance control" which is described in the album as the technique employed in the present recording, one suspects that it is merely a convenient phrase. In fact, there are some curious dynamic surges and relapses that suggest a transplanted slow-playing recording. One wishes that the origin of foreign recordings were stated clearly by the distributors so as to avoid giving a wrong impression.

NICOLAS SLONIMSKY

LAMBERT: *Concerto for Pianoforte and Nine Instruments*. Ensemble cond. Theodore Bloomfield. BERNERS: *Piano Music*. Menahem Pressler, piano. 12" LP. M-G-M E3081.

The late Constant Lambert's Concerto for Piano and Nine Instruments was written in 1933, some four years after the composition of his

best-known work, *The Rio Grande*. The musical idiom employed in both compositions derives ostensibly (at least in part) from American jazz of the 1920's. Lambert's book, *Music Ho — A Study of Music in Decline*, showed him to be an extremely perceptive and provocative, though often prejudiced critic. He expressed profound admiration in this book for the music of Duke Ellington among others. His own jazz-inspired work seems closer, however, to the symphonic jazz of Paul Whiteman.

The Concerto is frankly a dated composition. The same thing could be said about a lot of other jazz-inspired instrumental works written abroad and, for that matter, in this country during the decade and a half following the First World War. Unfortunately, the Concerto contains little else besides manner. Lambert's invention is neither original nor distinguished; and his best materials have been used by other composers with greater success. Disappointing too is Lambert's instrumental writing. The Concerto is written for an instrumental combination (flute, three clarinets, trumpet, trombone, 'cello, bass, and percussion) that is rich in sonorous possibilities. The composer has realized extremely few of these. The Concerto also contains serious formal weaknesses — a threnodic slow movement that is far too long, and an embarrassing coda to the last movement.

But what makes the Concerto a particularly exasperating listening experience to this reviewer is its aura of phony *chic* (its jazz sounds suspiciously like musical slumming) and its expressive ambiguity. It is not at all clear in the work whether Lambert is trying to be diverting or elegiac. The fact that it is dedicated to the memory of Peter Warlock is by no means conclusive evidence.

On the reverse side is a brief and charming recital of sensitive and expertly written piano pieces by the late Lord Berners (Gerald Hugh Tyrwhitt-Wilson). They include *Three Little Funeral Marches*, *Fragments Psychologiques*, and *Le Poisson d'Or*. These date back to the years 1914 and 1915; and while they exhibit late Impressionistic stylistic features somewhat reminiscent of the Debussy Piano Preludes, they are by no means lacking in individuality. The wistful concluding selection, *Poisson d'Or*, is certainly a more sympathetic depiction of a favorite household pet and adornment than Debussy's composition of the same title. One wonders why all or any of these pieces do not figure more prominently in piano recitals. They should do very nicely in the spot on the program usually reserved for the Impressionist or the modern group.

Lord Berners (who was also a diplomat, a poet, a novelist, and a

painter) was variously characterized by musicians and critics during his lifetime as an amateur composer, a musical satirist, and a parodist of modernistic tendencies. The man of many talents is, of course, always suspected of dilettantism. Berners was certainly not a great composer or even a really important one, but he had more genuine mastery and creativeness than many a full-time professional composer. He was often referred to as the English Satie, and with some justification. The satirical overtones of his music, his outrageously descriptive titles, were superficial features designed very often to throw the listener off the track and to conceal matters that might embarrass because of their profundity.

The young Israeli pianist, Menahem Pressler, performs excellently in both the Lambert and Lord Berners compositions. The recording is good in the Concerto and, in spite of a slight wow, acceptable on the reverse side.

IRVING FINE

MOZART: *Four Horn Concertos*, K. 412, 417, 447, 495. Dennis Brain, horn; Philharmonia Orchestra, cond. Herbert von Karajan. 12" LP. Angel 35092.

MOZART: *Four Adagios and Fugues for String Trio*, K. 404a. Pasquier Trio. 12" LP. Haydn Society HSL-108.

Ignaz Leitzgeb (or Leutgeb), cheese-monger and horn-player, must have been a fine performer, to judge by the concertos that his lifelong friend Mozart wrote for him. The butt of Mozart's jokes, he is said to have been a man without education, but, says Saint-Foix, "one asks, upon reading the music that Mozart intended for him, what it could have been like if the beneficiary had been more cultured."<sup>1</sup> For these are utterly enchanting works, on which Mozart lavished many little miracles of invention and workmanship. They exploit all the capacities of the natural horn, and Mozart does not hesitate to call for tones not in the harmonic series, when it suits him. For example, a six-note chromatic phrase for horn without accompaniment, in the finale of K. 447, contains three such tones. They would, of course, have been obtained by hand-stopping. Another exposed passage of this sort appears in the first movement of K. 495. The finales are all rondos with hunting-horn themes, but the triteness of some of these is redeemed by the

<sup>1</sup> Georges de Saint-Foix, *Les concertos pour cor de Mozart*, in *Revue de Musicologie*, XIII (1929), 241.

variety of the episodes and the liveliness of the general treatment. The authenticity of the present form of K. 412 is uncertain, as Ernst Rudorff first pointed out in his *Revisionsbericht* in the Collected Edition of Mozart's works. There is no slow movement, and the Rondo lacks the bassoons required in the first movement — a most unusual shift in instrumentation for Mozart.

Dennis Brain, of the celebrated British family of horn-players, performs these works beautifully. The only flyspeck in this fine record is a passage or two where soloist and orchestra are not quite together.

The Fugues are arrangements by Mozart, for the string trio at Baron van Swieten's Sunday musicales, of music by Johann Sebastian and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, as follows: 1) the E-flat minor fugue from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (here transposed to D minor); 2) the F-sharp minor fugue (here in G minor) from Book II; 3) the F-sharp major fugue (here in F) from Book II; 4) a fugue in F minor, the last in the collection of eight fugues for clavier, dating from 1778, by Wilhelm Friedemann. Mozart transcribes quite faithfully, as a rule, the only extensive changes being in No. 3, where they seem due mainly to a desire to entrust important material to the violin rather than the viola. Throughout this fugue, too, Mozart ties a suspension figure across the bar-line in many places where Bach does not. Possibly Mozart was using a defective copy or edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, but it seems more likely that the ties were more to his taste (and that of his generation). For each of the fugues Mozart composed a new prelude, and these are in every way worthy of the music they precede as well as of their composer. The third and fourth preludes, especially, have a profundity and a largeness of utterance that transcend by far the limitations of the medium for which Mozart was writing.

N. B.

MUSSORGSKY: *The Marriage*; Nicolas Agroff, bass; Charlotte Desmazes, contralto; Jean Mollien, tenor; Alexander Popovitzky, bass; L'Orchestre Radio Symphonique de Paris, cond René Leibowitz. 12" LP. Oceanic Records, OCS 36.

Mussorgsky wrote the first act of *The Marriage* in vocal score during the summer of 1868, and then abandoned the project. Yet he had a very definite idea in mind when he undertook the work, and he ex-

pressed it in a letter to Glinka's sister Shestakova: "My music must be the artistic reproduction of human speech in its subtlest inflections, so that its sounds, being external expressions of thought and sentiment, would become truthful music, without overemphasis or distortion, and yet precise and artistic. This is the ideal I am trying to attain."

The subject of the opera was well suited to Mussorgsky's intentions. It is a comedy by Gogol, written in the colloquial speech of the time, which is not much different from contemporary spoken Russian. *The Marriage* was orchestrated, completed, and emendated several times by various hands. The present recording is in the orchestration of Antoine Duhamel, which is closer to Stravinsky's instrumental treatment in *History of a Soldier* than to Rimsky-Korsakov's careful arrangements of Mussorgsky's music. The work is conducted with crispness and expressiveness by René Leibowitz. A reduced ensemble of l'Orchestre Radio Symphonique de Paris plays efficiently and accurately.

The singers use the Russian text. Nicolas Agroff as the hesitant groom Podkolessin gives a dramatic performance and one welcomes the absence of any attempt at specious comedy in his interpretation. Alexander Popovitzky as the servant has but a few lines to sing. Charlotte Desmazures who sings the marriage broker Fiokla enunciates so poorly that the words are not understandable, even to those who know their Gogol by heart. In the role of the officious Kotchikarev, Jean Mollien produces some fine operatic tones, but he massacres the lines, ludicrously mispronouncing the words and completely distorting the natural inflection of the phrase, and this in an opera written to express Russian speech in music! If no Russian could be found to sing this part, it would have been far better to have it performed in French.

NICOLAS SLONIMSKY

SCHOENBERG: *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Opus 36*. Louis Krasner, violin; N. Y. Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, cond. Dimitri Mitropoulos. BERG: *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*. Krasner; Cleveland Orchestra, cond. Artur Rodzinski. 12" LP. Columbia ML 4857.

With this valuable recording, Columbia Records again ventures beyond the confines of the "standard repertory" and brings us two atonal works of the greatest significance, both written at about the same time (the Schoenberg in 1936 and the Berg in 1935) and both revealing the



fullest powers of their composers. The Berg Concerto was available previously — the present version is a re-recording of a 78-rpm original — and at any rate, it is a piece of music fairly easy to learn; but the record première of the Schoenberg Concerto is an important event: it offers us an opportunity to become familiar in a few weeks with an extremely difficult composition — a process that undoubtedly would take many years on the basis of concert performances alone, and that could be accelerated only with the greatest expenditure of time and effort even by study of the score.

An interesting pronouncement of Schoenberg is included in the record notes: "I believe that in my new Violin Concerto I have created the necessity for a new kind of violinist." But we are not told that Schoenberg intended this in the most literal way: the "new kind of violinist" was to be one with six fingers, at least on his left hand. For a violinist with only five fingers, of course, the difficulties of performance are so much greater, and fittingly enough, the long hours of effort that must be expended by the soloist are paralleled by the long hours demanded from the listener who wishes to become familiar with the work. Yet in both cases, the effort yields the satisfaction of a new kind of musical experience.

The Schoenberg we meet in the Violin Concerto offers persuasive testimony that the normal process of musical evolution is taking place. To be sure, a series of tones is not only directly used as the source of the Concerto's motivic material, but is also manipulated so that it yields motifs and chords not perceptibly related to the original succession. Yet the important thing about the work is not this serial foundation at all, but the employment of conventional (one is tempted to say unavoidable) techniques of making music. This backtracking of Schoenberg, his search for analogues of the procedures of the past, has not found favor with most younger atonalists. But if his music has indeed become somewhat "old-fashioned," we must recognize only a gain in its intelligibility and emotional force. There is abundant recognizable repetition of motifs, themes are recapitulated, and the work is even obviously and dramatically cyclical. Parts of it (the parts following twelve-tone methods, one suspects) are less well defined; they become familiar more slowly and without becoming emotionally significant. But throughout there is a sure instinct for what sounds right to modern ears, and this is the true guide in the selection of material. It is for this reason that Schoenberg is not so much in a world apart as is commonly thought; there may even come a time when we shall see more his similarities to Stravinsky and to Bartók than the differences we now find so glaring.



The Violin Concerto is not in the least a hysterical work, as has been claimed. It is controlled and forceful, and it is filled with melodies and melodic phrases whose novel beauty is indisputably not due to a basis in tonality. The cadenzas have an unprecedented importance in the whole economy; they are dramatically introduced, and extremely expressive and powerful.

The Berg Concerto — programmatic, often clearly tonal, and governed by a sense of drama — is much more easily enjoyed than the Schoenberg, and produces the most profound emotional effect. It contains numerous musical references and quotations; a few masterful touches at once evoke the shade of Mahler. The vivid death and transfiguration of the last movement almost make Strauss's symphonic poem pale by comparison. Berg's is the more gripping description, and there is something actually cruel and horrible in its realistic depiction of a girl's physical torture by disease. Like the Schoenberg Concerto, the Berg is full of promise for the future course of music: equally the mature work of a composer of genius, it maintains just as forcefully, but in its own way, that atonality is an integral part of musical evolution.

Unfortunately, the informational notes for the record contain confused remarks ("The effect which the Berg Concerto makes on the listener is closely identified with the circumstances attending its composition"), and also vacuous ones ("The movement is generally in the song form"). Pretending to document an original discussion of the Schoenberg Concerto, the author — who has wisely chosen to remain anonymous — simply compiles comments of Felix Greissle and Schoenberg, slipping in a few awkward interjections of his own ("Let Schoenberg have the last word").

On the technical side, the recording is subject to what we might call "creative engineering" — a kind of irresponsible juggling with microphones and intensities, which can produce a poor relationship between the loudnesses of different parts of a work and a distortion of the normal balance between instruments. The solo violin tends to be a great deal louder than the whole orchestra, and especially in the Berg Concerto, there is no way for the listener to select a satisfactory level of loudness: some sections of the work will inevitably get too loud and others will not be loud enough to be effective. This electronic re-arranging is an innocent pastime when indulged in by the owner of a modern phonograph, with its irresistible array of controls, but it is a dangerous presumption when forced upon the public in permanent form.

EDWARD ARTHUR LIPPMAN

SHOSTAKOVITCH: *Concerto for Piano, Trumpet and Strings*. Menahem Pressler, piano; Harry Glantz, trumpet; M-G-M Orchestra, cond. Theodore Bloomfield. *Sonata No. 2, in B minor, Opus 64*. 12" LP. MGM E-3079. *The 24 Preludes for Piano*. Menahem Pressler. 12" LP. MGM E-3070.

The Concerto is a well known diversion piece that juggles both grave and jocular ideas. The banality is purposeful and the gravity reflective, but when the two elements conclude their interplay the barrel is rolled out in celebration. There is much brilliance in the solo piano but just before the end the record gives out and blurs. Otherwise the recording is excellent and the trumpet-playing first-rate.

The Second Piano Sonata (1943) is conceived on an ambitious scale but the drama falls flat. The key of B minor at its ugliest over-runs the sonata. The first movement is feebly virtuoso with little musical content and in the slow movement there is sterile and dull material that must be played with false expressivity to survive. The finale is a long set of variations that do not sound like variations except for the insistence of the B-minor tonic. Pressler deserves credit for the survival of the second movement and for all that he put into the work that was never there, particularly his impressionistic interpretation of the spare and emaciated passages.

In the Preludes, composed ten years before the Second Sonata, Shostakovitch exploits each part of the keyboard, giving special attention to the singing qualities of the extreme registers and the inherent percussiveness of the tenor range. But here there is content, density, and meaningful formalistic design. The strong influence of earlier pianist-composers on the preludes probably accounts for the misplaced final tonics but in turn is responsible for much of the parody. The piece shuffles through all the major and minor keys playing tricks all along the way.

Pressler is a pianist with ample technical means and temperament, and enough emotional give to be saucy without self-consciousness.

VINCENT PERSICHETTI

VILLA-LOBOS: *Rude Pôema; The Children's Doll Suite; The Three Marias*. Jacques Abram, piano. 12" LP. EMS 10.

A first-rate recording by EMS presents the brilliant young American pianist, Jacques Abram, in expert performances of three of Villa-Lobos's

better known works for piano. These are the long, sprawling, but entirely effective fantasy *Rude Pôema*, the familiar Impressionistic suite *Prôle du Bébê*, and the charming suite of three little pieces in the treble register entitled *The Three Maries*.

Villa-Lobos writes the kind of piano music that ought to be catnip for virtuosos. It provides them with all of the things they were trained for and that they used to like to do in the good old days before "virtuoso" became a naughty word. Very few virtuosos can cope with the difficulties of *Rude Pôema* (it was tailor-made for Artur Rubinstein in his salad days); Jacques Abram is apparently one of them.

As for *Rude Pôema* itself, how does one go about describing this gargantuan improvisation? It begins innocently with a simple, yet highly evocative Latin-American idea, which is immediately blown up before it gets a chance to be fully stated. Undoubtedly it is an introduction, and our suspicions are confirmed by the cadenza that then follows. After this, we settle down for some quieter music, Impressionistic in character and drenched in the kind of nostalgic atmosphere that Ravel evokes so beautifully in his *Rapsodie Espagnole*. From here on, things begin to happen. The music goes primitive; there are reiterated rhythms; the harmony becomes more percussive; and the piano writing provides more fireworks. In spite of occasional interruptions, things get fierouser and fierouser (there are some fascinatingly complex meters) and more difficult to relate to any over-all formal plan. Ultimately, the music settles down again before making an unsuccessful attempt to wind up in a blaze of bravura. In all, it is a curiously uneven piece and not consistent stylistically, but extraordinarily imaginative and vital. One does get to like it.

Of the other two works, the *Three Maries* with its neat diatonic style and its sparkling piano writing seems the more personal. It is the most recent of the works in this recording (1939). *Prôle du Bébê* is the earliest. Apart from the indigenous-sounding elements in *Caboclinha* (Clay Doll) and *A Probesinha* (Rag Doll), this popular and thoroughly attractive suite could have been written by one of the French Impressionists.

IRVING FINE



# QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY FRANK C. CAMPBELL

## ENGLISH

**THE BALLET ANNUAL, 1955;** A Record and Year Book of the Ballet. Ed. by Arnold Haskell. 9th issue. [144 p., illus., bibl., 4to] London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan Co., [1954]. 21/-, \$4.50.

**BALYS, JONAS**

Lithuanian Narrative Folksongs; A Description of Types and a Bibliography. (A Treasury of Lithuanian Folklore, 4.) [144 p., 8vo] Washington: [The Author, 1212 Trenton Place, S.E.], 1954.

**BIANCOLLI, LOUIS, *editor***

The Mozart Handbook; A Guide to the Man and His Music. [xxi, 629 p., ports., facsmis., bibl., 8vo] Cleveland & New York: World Pub. Co., [1954]. \$7.50.

**BLUM, DANIEL C.**

A Pictorial Treasury of Opera in America. [315, (5) p., chiefly ports., folio] New York: Greenberg Publisher, [1954]. \$10.00.

**BRITISH MUSEUM**

Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Museum. Accessions, Part LVI. [295 p., 4to] London, 1953.

**CASELLA, ALFREDO**

Music in My Time; The Memoirs of Alfredo Casella. Translated and ed. by Spencer Norton. [xi, 254 p., 8vo] Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1955]. \$4.00.

**CHASE, GILBERT**

America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present. [Introd. by Douglas Moore.] [xxiii, 733 p., music, bibl., 8vo] New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., [1954]. \$8.50.

**COWELL, HENRY & SIDNEY**

Charles Ives and His Music. [x, 245 p., ports., facsmis., music, bibl., 8vo] New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. \$4.50.

**DOLMETSCH, MABEL**

Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600. [xii, 174 p., illus., diagrs., bibl., 4to] London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954. 42/-.

**EINSTEIN, ALFRED**

Gluck. Translated [from the German] by Eric Blom. (Master Musicians, New Series.) [xi, 238 p., illus., ports., bibl., 12mo] London: J. M. Dent & Son; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., [1954]. 8/6.

**FERGUSON, DONALD N.**

Masterworks of the Orchestral Repertoire; A Guide for Listeners. [xxii, 662 p., music, 8vo] Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1954]. \$7.50.

**GOULD, CASSIUS WALLACE**

An Analysis of the Folk-Music in the Oaxaca and Chiapas Areas of Mexico. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 9237.) [327 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1954. \$4.09.

## HARICH-SCHNEIDER, ETA

The Rhythmical Patterns in Gagaku and Bugaku. (Ethno-Musicologica, Vol. 3.) [109 p., 4to] Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954. Fl. 36.00.

## HOOD, MANTLE

The Nuclear as a Determinant of Patet in Javanese Music. [xi, 323 p., music, 4to] Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1954. Fl. 30.00.

## HOWARD, JOHN TASKER

Our American Music, Three Hundred Years of It. With supplementary chapters by James Lyons. 3rd ed., rev. & reset. [xxii, 841, A77 p., ports, facsim., bibl., 8vo] New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., [1954]. \$6.50.

## KENT, RALPH McVETY

A Study of Oratorios and Sacred Cantatas Composed in America before 1900. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 9583.) [610 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1954. \$7.62.

## MALEK, VINCENT F.

A Study of Embouchure and Trumpet-Cornet Mouthpiece Measurements. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 6219.) [184 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1953. \$2.30.

## MASSON, SIR IRVINE

The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae, 1457-1459. (Bibliographical Society Pubn. for the Years 1952 & 1953.) [viii, 72 p., illus., facsim., bibl., folio] London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1954.

## MUELLER, ROBERT EARL

The Concept of Tonality in Impressionist Music: Based on the Works of Debussy and Ravel. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 10,153.) [171 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1954. \$2.14.

## NETTEL, REGINALD

Sing a Song of England; A Social History of Traditional Song. [286 p., illus., bibl., 8vo] London: Phoenix House, 1954. 21/-.

## OVERSON, M. PETER

Joseph J. Daynes, First Tabernacle Organist; His Contributions to the Musical Culture of Utah and the Significance of His Life and Works. [155 p., port., facsim., bibl., 4to] [Provo: Brigham Young University Press], 1954.

## PARSONS, PLEASANTS ARRAND

Dissonance in the Fantasies and Sonatas of Henry Purcell. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 6233.) [208 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1953. \$2.60.

## PORTNOY, JULIUS

The Philosopher and Music; A Historical Outline. [xv, 268 p., bibl., 8vo] New York: Humanities Press, 1954. \$4.50.

## RINGBOM, NILS-ERIC

Jean Sibelius; A Master and His Work. Translated from the Swedish by G. I. C. de Courcy. [ix, 196 p., ports., music, bibl., 8vo] Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1954]. \$3.75.

## ROCHBERG, GEORGE

The Hexachord and Its Relation to the 12-tone Row. [40 p., music, 4to] Bryn Mawr, Penna.: Theodore Presser Co., [1955].

## RUFER, JOSEF

Composition with Twelve Notes Related Only to One Another. Translated by Humphrey Searle. [xiv, 218 p., music, port., facsim., 8vo] London: Rockliff; New York: Macmillan Co., [1954]. 25/-, \$5.00.

## SCHENKER, HEINRICH

Harmony. Edited and annotated by Oswald Jonas. Translated by Elisabeth Mann Borgese. [xxxii, 359 p., music, 8vo] Chicago: University of Chicago Press; [London: Cambridge University Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954]. \$10.00.

## SCHOLLES, PERCY A.

God Save the Queen! The History and Romance of the World's First National Anthem. [ix, 328 p., illus., facsim., ports., music, 8vo] London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954. 30/-, \$4.80.

## SEARLE, HUMPHREY

Twentieth Century Counterpoint; A Guide for Students. [ix, 158 p., music, bibl., 8vo] London: Williams & Norgate, 1954; [New York: John de Graff, 1955]. 25/-, \$4.50.

## STERBA, EDITHA &amp; RICHARD

Beethoven and His Nephew; A Psycho-analytic Study of Their Relationship. Translated by Willard R. Trask. [351 p., port., 8vo] New York: Pantheon Books, [1954]. \$5.00.

## TRUMBLE, ERNEST LORENZ

Early Renaissance Harmony. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 10,159.) [302 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1954. \$3.78.

## TUFTS, JOHN

An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes, in a Plain & Easy Method. With a collection of tunes in three parts. Facsimile reprint of the 5th edition (earliest located edition). Foreword by Irving Lowens. [xii (i. e. x), (6), 9, (2), 12 p., music facsim., 16mo] Philadelphia: Printed for Musical Americana (Harry Dichter) by Albert Saifer, 1954. \$2.50.

## WEISSTEIN, ULRICH WERNER

Studies in the Libretto: Otello — Der Rosenkavalier; Prolegomena to a Poetics of Opera. (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 8802.) [250 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1954. \$3.13.

## YERBURY, GRACE HELEN

Styles and Schools of Art-Song in America (1720-1850). (University Microfilms Pubn. No. 6459.) [441 p., pos. film] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1953. \$5.51.

## GERMAN

BEITRÄGE ZUR MUSIKGESCHICHTE DER STADT AACHEN. Mit Vorwort hrsg. von C. M. Brand & K. G. Fellerer. (Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte, H. 6.) [69 p., 8vo] Köln: Staufien-Verlag, 1954. DM 4.20.

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Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit. Bd. 2: 1855 bis 1872, 1883. [515 p., illus., ports., 8vo] Frankfurt am Main: H. R. Sauerländer & Co., [1954].

**GIGLER, ANDREAS**

Gesangpostille, von 1569 und 1754. Mit Noten-Beiband gedruckt durch Andreas Franck in Graz. Vollständ. Faks.-Ausgabe d. Steiermärk. Landesbibliothek. [350 p., 8vo] Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1950. S. 120.—.

**GRÜNINGER, FRITZ**

Carl Maria von Weber; Leben und Werk. [224 p., 8vo] Freiburg: Herder, [1954]. DM 8.50.

**HEERKENS, PIET**

Lieder der Florinesen; Sammlung 140 florines. Lieder und 162 Texte mit Übersetzung aus d. Sprachgebiete d. Lionesen, Sikanesen, Ngada's und Manggaraier. (International Archives of Ethnography, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. 46, Suppl.) [197 p., 4to] Leiden, Köln: Brill, 1953. Fl. 55.—.

**JAMMERS, EWALD**

Der Mittelalterliche Choral; Art und Herkunft. (Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft . . . der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Bd. II.) [102 p., illus., music, 8vo] Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, [1954]. DM 4.50.

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Bibliographie der Vertonungen von Dichtungen Hölderlins. [Reprinted from Hölderlin-Jahrbuch, 1953.] [pp. 119-135, 8vo] [Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hölderlin-Archiv], 1953.

**LINDLAR, HEINRICH, editor**

Béla Bartók; mit Beiträgen von Béla Bartók, D. Dille, E. Dofflein. (Musik der Zeit, H. 3.) [78 p., illus., 4to] Bonn: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953. DM 3.—.

Oper im 20. Jahrhundert. (Musik der Zeit, H. 6.) [71 p., illus., music, 4to] Bonn: Boosey & Hawkes, 1954. DM 3.—.

Serge Prokofieff; mit Beiträgen von Serge Prokofieff, G. Abraham, F. Merriek. (Musik der Zeit, H. 5.) [64 p., illus., music, 4to] Bonn: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953. DM 3.—.

**MAJER, JOSEPH FRIEDRICH BERNHARD CASPAR**

Museum musicum 1732; Faksimile-Neudruck, hrsg. von Heinz Becker. (Documenta musicologica, Reihe 1, 8.) [10 leaves, 104 p., oblong 8vo] Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954. DM 11.—.

**MOSER, HANS JOACHIM**

Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland. Lfg. 7/8 & 9/10. [pp. 287-382, 383-478, illus., music, 8vo] Berlin & Darmstadt: Merseburger, [1954]. DM 4.50 each.

**DIE MUSIK IN GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWART;** allg. Enzyklopädie d. Musik. Hrsg. von Friedrich Blume. Lfg. 28/29: Esp-Fec. [pp. 1537-1920, illus., plates 45-60, 4to] Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter, 1954. DM 17.50 on subsc.

**PROBLEME DER SOWJETISCHEN MUSIK;** eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen. Aus d. Russ. übersetzt von W. Dutz. (Musik und Zeit, Bd. 6.) [163 p., illus., music, 8vo] Halle-Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1953. DM 4.50.

**REGER, MAX**

Thematisches Verzeichnis der im Druck erschienenen Werke von Max Reger, einschliesslich seiner Bearbeitungen und Ausgaben, mit systematischem Verzeichnis und Registern; bearb. von Fritz Stein; Bibliographie des Reger-Schrifttums von Josef Bachmair. [viii, 617 p., port., music, 4to] Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1954].

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Deutsche Musik im europäischen Raum; Geschichtl. Grundlinien. [xi, 272 p., illus., 7 plates, 8vo] Münster & Köln: Böhlau, 1954. DM 14.80.

## WAGNER, RICHARD

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#### ERRATUM

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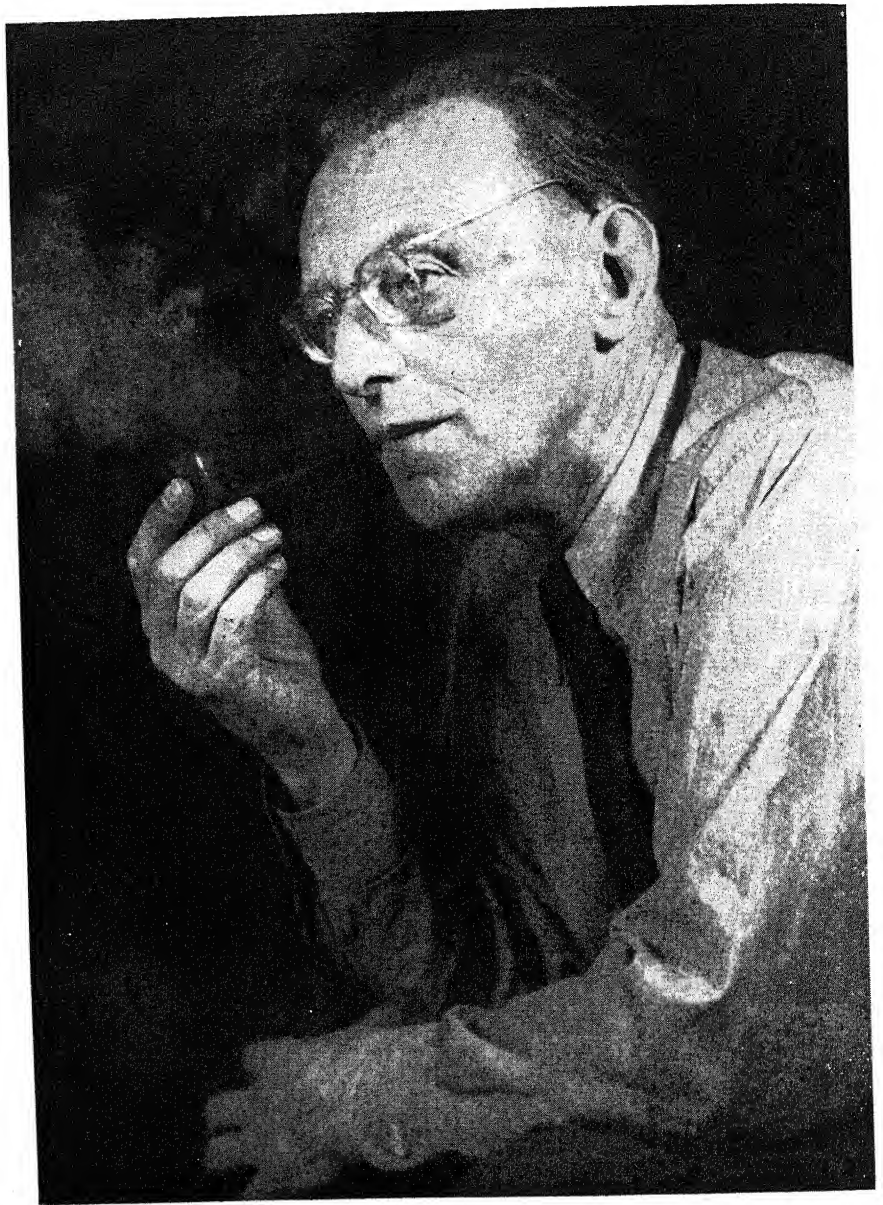
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Associate Editor







Carl Orff



# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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CARL ORFF

By EVERETT HELM

THE ever-growing reputation of Carl Orff, one of the most widely performed composers of present-day Germany, rests almost exclusively on nine works for the musical stage. All nine were composed since 1935, at which time Orff was forty years old. According to his own testimony he had previously written quantities of music, including fugues, sonatas, and the like, all of which he has withdrawn or destroyed. Certain it is that he published a set of songs at the age of fifteen. But it is as difficult to get definite information about these early works as it is to ascertain biographical facts regarding his earlier days. He refuses to speak about himself and is unhappy when others do so. His reaction to a request for biographical information made by the editor of a book on the modern opera was typical; he wrote back: "Carl Orff, born 1895 in Munich, still living there." The 1935 edition of Moser's *Musik Lexikon* tells us a bit more. He studied in the Munich Akademie der Tonkunst until 1914, served in the military during the first war, held small positions in the Mannheim and Darmstadt opera houses, returned for good to Munich in 1920, studied further with Kaminsky, and from 1925 on was in charge of the department of "tänzerische Musikerziehung" in the Günther School in Munich. In this latter capacity, Moser states, he had to do with the musical training of amateurs by means of percussion orchestras. Moser adds that he

was also at that time (1935) conductor of the Bach Society in Munich. The works listed by Moser include a cantata, *Des Turmes Auferstehung*; Orchestral Prelude (1925); Small Concerto for Brass and Harpsichord (1927); *Entrata for Orchestra after William Byrd* (1928); an unnamed cantata on a text of Werfel (1928); *Kleine Festmusik für Kammerorchester* (1928); *Catulli Carmina* (1930-33); *Das Schulwerk* (educational material); *Bayrische Musik* (1934); and arrangements of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, *Ballo della Ingrate*, *Arianna*, and *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*.

In 1937 *Carmina Burana* was performed for the first time and with great success in Frankfurt am Main, and at that moment Orff "disowned" all his previous work, with which he was now dissatisfied. Two pieces, *Catulli Carmina* and the *Entrata*, were later revised and restored to grace, as were the Monteverdi arrangements. For all practical purposes, then, *Carmina Burana* must be regarded as his earliest work, and it has remained one of his most successful. Since that time he has devoted himself entirely to the composition of opera and other forms of stage music. He finds it impossible to write sonatas, symphonies, fugues, symphonic poems, and the like, for he feels that the 18th and 19th centuries exhausted the possibilities of these forms. He has the greatest admiration for Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and other masters of the past but is thoroughly disinclined to follow in their footsteps. He feels that, for him at least, the way of salvation lies in a return to the spoken word and the rejuvenation of the musical stage.

Yet Orff is not an operatic composer in the usual sense of the term. Not once does the word "opera" appear in his titles (see below). On the contrary, his compositions are to a large extent a reaction and a protest against the concept of opera as it was developed in the 19th century and carried on by such composers as Strauss and Pfitzner — a reaction as regards form, style, treatment, and subject matter. For his material Orff has drawn on the folklore of his native Bavaria (*Die Bernauerin*; *Astutuli*), on antiquity (*Antigone*; *Catulli Carmina*), on medieval French and German sources (*Carmina Burana*), and on fairy tales and legends (*Der Mond*; *Die Kluge*). In one of his rare statements he himself says: "I am often asked why I nearly always select old material, fairy tales and legends for my stage works. I do not look upon them as old, but rather as valid material. The time element disappears, and only the spiritual power remains. My entire interest is in the expression of spiritual realities. I write for the theater in order to convey a spiritual attitude."

This variety in the sources from which Orff has drawn his material (to which must be added the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles in the version of Hölderlin, on which he is presently working) betrays a strong humanistic interest and also a strong affinity with Mediterranean culture, so often characteristic of the Bavarian, the most "southerly" of Germans. But his interest in the past and in the literature of past times is in no sense an antiquarian or even a primarily historical one. He does not propose to "revitalize" old works, but to turn to the advantage of the contemporary stage the vitality that is inherent in those works. To this end Orff has evolved a musical style that is extraordinarily direct, elemental, and primitive. It is a kind of return to musical innocence that stands at the opposite pole from Romanticism, post-Romanticism, neo-Romanticism, and Impressionism. Nor is it in any sense neo-Classical. Orff's style, in all its variations, is based on the principle of simplification, on the reduction (or return) of music to its elements.

This is most immediately striking in his rhythmic procedures, for rhythm is the primary factor of his style, the factor that gives much of his music its characteristic drive and vitality. He reduces rhythm to its simplest terms. Primary rhythmic patterns are repeated unvaried in endless *ostinati*, which if they were less extended would be less effective. As a rule the rhythmic patterns are cast in regular meter with regularly-constructed phrases and periods. Rhythmic variation is introduced sectionally; after one rhythmic pattern has been exhausted (Orff's critics would say "ridden to death"), another is begun and in turn exhausted. Practically never does Orff employ counter-rhythms; the same basic rhythm prevails at any given moment in both orchestra and voices, although one or the other may have a more animated version of this basic rhythm. The chorus *In Taberna* from *Carmina Burana* (see Ex. 1)<sup>1</sup> is typical of Orff's rhythmic procedures in many of his fast movements; it can be said to consist purely of rhythmic energy, melodic, harmonic, and contrapuntal elements being virtually non-existent. Such a setting has the effect of centering the attention entirely on the text; it would be unthinkable in purely instrumental writing.

The opening chorus of *Carmina Burana*, *O Fortuna*, is based on the same principle of rhythmic *ostinato*, except that here the chorus

<sup>1</sup> The examples from *Carmina Burana* are copyright 1937 by B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers.

52

51

B-S-S 34 987

*ostinato* in quicker note values (see Ex. 2). The entire long chorus is built on this orchestral *ostinato* and on seemingly endless repetitions of

a single phrase in the chorus. This phrase rises gradually in pitch, being transposed constantly upwards to the various notes of a D-minor

## Ex. 2

Ex. 2 is a musical score for a large ensemble and chorus. The score is written in D minor and consists of 11 measures. The instruments include Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet in Bb, Clarinet in Eb, Bassoon, Contrabassoon, Cor Anglais, Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba, Timpani, Grand Cassa, Tom-tom, Piano I, Piano II, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The chorus consists of two parts, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Latin: "si - ne mo - ra cor - de pul - sum tan - gi - tey quod per sor - tem".

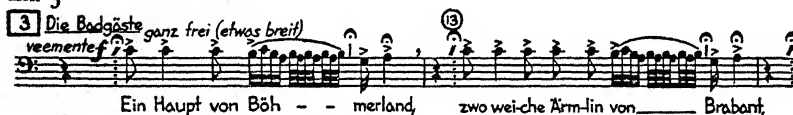
triad; the texture becomes gradually thicker, and the intensity builds from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*. There is no change of harmony; the



whole movement is in substance a rhythmic embroidery of a D-minor chord — a deliberate simplification of the musical material to its lowest common denominator.

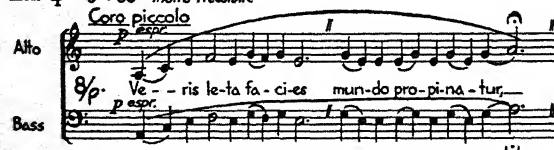
Since Orff's style depends so largely on rhythmic elements, avoidance of monotony depends largely on contrast and variation of the rhythmic procedures. This he does block-wise or movement-wise (in those works that consist of a series of separate pieces). In *Carmina Burana*, for instance, we find, interspersed among movements in which the meter does not change, others based on the constant alternation of meter. In the short soprano solo *In trutina*, the meter changes with practically every measure, employing 4/2, 3/2, and 2/2 measures. The chorus that follows, *Tempus est iocundum*, is marked also by frequent metrical change (3/4, 4/4, 5/4, 3/2); and the two short instrumental movements change meter with nearly every bar. A still more important source of rhythmic variety, however, is the interpolation of movements or passages of a rhythmically free, rhapsodic nature, recalling the style of plainsong, psalmody, or Oriental song. In the opening scene of *Die Bernauerin*, for instance, the recurrence of the solo voice between highly rhythmic choruses is most effective. It is accompanied only by held notes in the orchestra:<sup>2</sup>

## Ex. 3



A similar kind of release from rhythmic tension is achieved by the third chorus, *Vere leta facies*, in *Carmina Burana*, which follows two strongly rhythmic choruses. The accompaniment consists of sustained chords with open fifth:

## Ex. 4



<sup>2</sup> The examples from *Die Bernauerin* are copyright 1946 by B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers.

It is not surprising that in a style depending so largely on rhythm, percussion instruments play a major role. Each of Orff's works requires four or more percussion players in addition to timpani, pianos, harps, celesta, xylophone, etc. (see details of instrumentation given below under the individual works). The orchestra in *Astutuli* consists exclusively of percussion instruments. In his employment of the percussion group, Orff achieves some most interesting effects and some sounds that are strikingly new. To this end he has "invented" certain percussion instruments, such as the "Steinspiel" (high-pitched stone slab, struck with a glockenspiel mallet), which figures in *Antigone* and *Astutuli*. Orff uses percussive effects and percussion instruments almost uninterruptedly, in soft passages as well as in loud. The percussion section is as closely integrated into his style and orchestra as strings and winds are, in contradistinction to the more usual practice of reserving the percussion for climaxes and big effects. One finds in his scores three-note chords for timpani marked *ppp*; bass drum, cymbal, xylophone marked *pp*, and the like.

Orff's is essentially a dry, staccato style (relieved intermittently by legato sections). Strings and winds are treated more frequently as percussion than as cantabile instruments. The lower-pitched instruments often behave like bass drums or timpani, playing detached staccato notes alone or together with percussion instruments (cf. Ex. 2, where the trombones and even the first and second trumpets might be compared to higher timpani and where the low strings and winds "double" the tamtam and bass drum). The writing for higher winds and strings not infrequently suggests piano style (cf. Ex. 2). A typical page of an Orff score is characterized by the large number of staccato marks and accents; it is not unusual for every note to bear one of these markings (cf. Ex. 2). The peculiar brittleness that is bound up closely with the staccato mark is a typical feature.

Quite apart from the huge percussion section, Orff's scores call for a large orchestra, usually with woodwinds in threes, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, and strings. His technique of orchestration is related closely to the block-like structure of his music. A given combination of instruments, producing a clearly defined sound, is chosen for a given passage. For the next passage a second combination is used; for the third, still another, and so on. This procedure could well be compared to the technique of organ registration, where changes of color can be effected by activating a mechanism that automatically produces a new complex of sound. As in organ practice, such changes



occur in Orff's scores at the beginning of a new passage or phrase. In his doublings as well Orff frequently recalls organ registration in the use of 8', 16', and 4' tone. Some of his orchestral crescendos are built on the same principle as that of drawing a 4' or 16' coupler to gain increased brilliance and volume.

From this it will be seen that Orff's orchestration is diametrically opposed to the "Klangideal" of the Romantic and post-Romantic period, culminating in the thoroughly mixed orchestral colors of Richard Strauss, and that it differs radically from most contemporary techniques.

The same is true of his harmonic practices. Orff's music is based on a reduction of harmony to its most basic elements — namely tonic, dominant, and subdominant. Entire movements or sections are based on a single harmony (we have already mentioned the opening chorus of *Carmina Burana*). In this regard, as in others, one is reminded of procedures occasionally employed in Monteverdi's operas — a composer whom Orff admires unreservedly. The Intrade of *Die Bernauerin* is a distinct counterpart to the opening of *Orfeo*, the overture to the *Midsummer Night's Dream* music an even closer one. In the *Trionfo di Afrodite* two of the most extensive choruses (the first and fourth) are built on a tonic pedal point, relieved only briefly by a short middle passage in the subdominant. The opening scene of *Die Kluge* consists, with the exception of one short passage, of nothing but tonic and dominant.

The characteristic Orff pedal point on the tonic is often embroidered in the bass register by unharmonized notes, such as the minor third above:<sup>3</sup>



Sometimes the embroidery takes the form of diatonic figuration:<sup>4</sup>

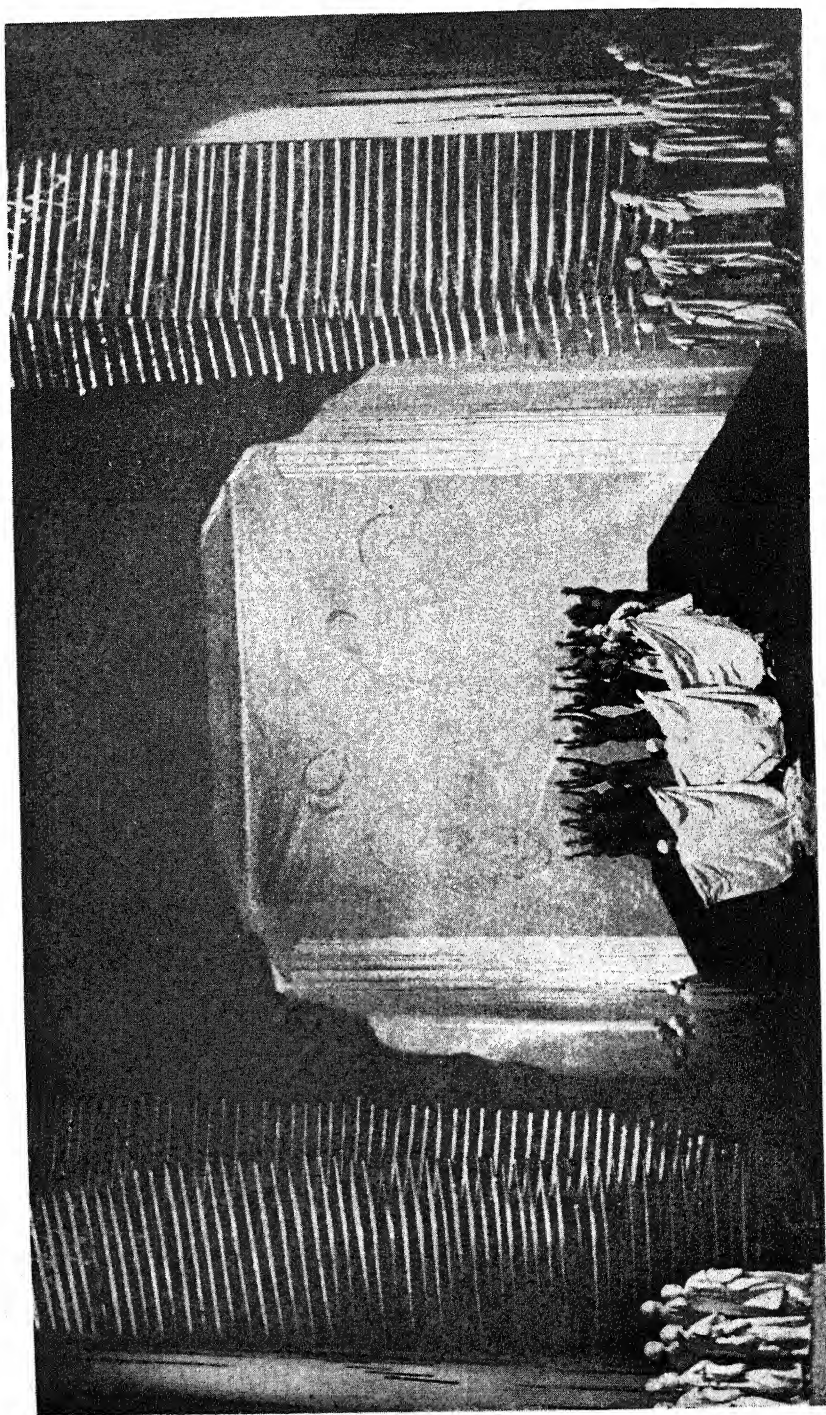


<sup>3</sup> The examples from *Die Kluge* are copyright 1942 by B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers.

<sup>4</sup> The examples from *Antigone* are copyright 1949 by Schott & Company, Ltd., London; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers.



A Scene from Carl Orff's *Die Kluge*



A Scene from Carl Orff's *Catulli Carmina*

Ex. 7 (52)

52  $\frac{4}{4}$  *pp*  
So wird sie einsehn, a-ber ge- - - - sterweise  
15  
85

Diatonic neighboring notes, appoggiaturas, and passing tones are used freely in the upper voices without in any way indicating a change of harmony.

The major and minor modes alternate with movements of a modal nature, often characterized by the use of the flattened seventh degree. In general, however, the sense of tonality remains strong, as for example in such passages as the following:<sup>5</sup>

**Ex. 8**

Handwritten musical score for 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on two staves, Treble and Bass clef. The tempo is marked '2. d. = 66' and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody is in the Treble staff, and the bass line is in the Bass staff. The lyrics are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'ff' and 'f'.

In Orff's earlier works dissonance is used almost exclusively as an expressive means, in the form of isolated chords that have the character of brief interjections to heighten a dramatic effect (see Ex. 9).

Certain passages in the *Trionfo di Afrodite* (1951), however, display a harmonic style in which dissonance is integrated more closely into the general fabric, without, it should be added, ever destroying the feeling of basic tonality.

The melodic substance of Orff's music consists chiefly of short motifs, repeated to form longer phrases. Melodic sequence is practically non-existent; melodic variation almost equally so. The motifs themselves are primitive and neutral in character; nowhere is there the slightest reminiscence of the kind of "expressive" melody that flourished in the Romantic and post-Romantic periods and that characterizes the works

<sup>5</sup> The examples from *Catulli Carmina* are copyright 1943 by B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz; reprinted by permission of Associated Music Publishers.

## Ex. 9

3/4 *più lento tranquillo* *p* Solo  
 Im Wasser die Fisch, die schaue alle zu.

111 *a tempo molto agitato* *f* tutti  
 itzt hebn sie s' auf,

2 Solo  
 Itzt hebn sie s' auf, itzt hebn sie s' auf,

3 tutti  
 itzt hebn sie s' auf,

4 tutti  
 itzt hebn sie s' auf,

5 tutti  
 itzt hebn sie s' auf,

Steinsp. *pp* *ff*

Klav. I *pp* *ff*

Klav. II *ff*

of Schoenberg and many of his followers. Orff's melodies are "compounded," so to speak, of such simple motifs as:

## Ex. 10

*un poco f*

tu mi-hi cor-cu-lum, tu mi-hi cor-cu-lum, tu mi-hi cor-cu-lum, cor-cu-lum, cor-cu-lum,



Such melody is entirely inexpressive and in essence meaningless (often entire passages are declaimed on a single note); it is only one step removed from rhythmic speech and derives its meaning exclusively from the context: from the text, the rhythm, and the accompaniment. The closest Orff comes to writing "melody" in the traditional sense is in occasional reminiscences of folk tunes:

## Ex. 11

Quasi Andante  
 61  $4/8$   $\text{♩} = 132-144$   
 Coro piccolo *p semplice*  
 Sopr. *I. Chramer, gip die var-we mir, die min wen-gel roe - te,*  
*da-mit ich die jun-gen man an ir dank der min-nen-lie-be noe - te*

## Ex. 12

*p*  
 Möchst Mein und Dein, wie ja und nein, ver-dre-hen und ver-ren-ken

The resemblance between Orff's melodic substance and that of plainsong is striking. It appears in its most direct form in those movements or passages referred to above in which the rhythmic tension is relaxed. The melodic phrase on which the chorus *Veris leta facies* in *Carmina Burana* is based (Ex. 4) might well be that of an eight-century hymn (except for the rising cadence). Still more common is the resemblance to the older corpus of plainsong, as in the ninth *Ludus* of *Catulli Carmina*:

Ex. 13 ( $\text{♩} = c. 104$ )

*molto leggiero e rubato*  
 8 *pp*  
*A-ma-bo, me-a dul-cis Ip-si-til-la, a-ma-bo, me-a dul-cis Ip-si -*  
 8 *til-la, me-a de-liciae mei le-po-res. iu-be, ad te veniam, meri-dium.*

The methods and patterns of psalmody are in Orff's work omnipresent, first of all in the frequent responsorial and antiphonal style (between soloist and chorus or chorus and chorus) and secondly in the constant use of the reciting note, with or without *initium* and *terminatio*. The "psalmodic" or declamatory style is found particularly in *Antigone*, a large portion of which is based on a syllabic-declamatory

style. Such passages as the following preserve the exact contour of the psalm tones:

Ex. 14

4 Andante,  $\text{♩} = 54$  *sempre un poco cantando*  
 Solo (Chorführer) *p* *con lamento*  
 Basses, pizz. *ppp*  
 88  
 Aber jetzt kommt aus dem Thor Is-me-ne, friedlich, schwe-sterli-che Trän-nen-ver-giessend

The musical score for Ex. 14 is in 4/4 time, marked Andante with a tempo of 54 quarter notes per minute. It features a vocal solo part for the choir leader (Solo (Chorführer)) and piano accompaniment for basses (Basses, pizz.). The tempo is marked 'sempre un poco cantando'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line is marked 'con lamento' and 'p' (piano). The piano accompaniment is marked 'ppp' (pianissimo) and '88'. The lyrics are: 'Aber jetzt kommt aus dem Thor Is-me-ne, friedlich, schwe-sterli-che Trän-nen-ver-giessend'.

The highly ornamented style of the Gregorian Alleluias has its counterpart in certain melismatic passages in Orff's music. It is interesting to observe how the following ornamented vocalization ends in syllabic declamation:

Ex. 15

67 *con gran lamento molto rubato*  
 Ant. *p*  
 0  
*molto string.* *a tempo*  
 des Landes Thebes väterliche Stadt,

The musical score for Ex. 15 is in 6/8 time. It features an antiphonal vocalization (Ant.) and piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'con gran lamento molto rubato'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line is marked 'p' (piano). The piano accompaniment is marked 'molto string.' and 'a tempo'. The lyrics are: 'des Landes Thebes väterliche Stadt,'.

It might be observed in passing that Orff's melody, like that of plainsong, is based to a very large extent on stepwise motion, and that the most frequent skip is that of the minor third. Counterpoint as such is completely lacking; his is a strictly monodic style.

Orff's solution of the formal problem is as primitive as that of the rhythmic, from which it can scarcely be dissociated. His works fall clearly into block sections, each with its distinct character. There is practically no such thing as development, and variation is rare. The form grows out of the repetition and/or alternation of unvaried passages. The opening chorus of *Carmina Burana* consists of countless repetitions of a single period and is repeated verbatim to conclude the work. The first chorus of *Catulli Carmina* is reducible to A B A; the A part is repeated in abbreviated form as the final chorus.

In the stage works, the various "numbers" are clearly defined; each number has its own characteristic mood, rhythm, and melodic "cell."

It is indeed largely through the changes in basic rhythmic patterns that the form is made clear. The dynamics also play an important part in the formal organization; in general, changes in dynamics also occur blockwise, a loud passage (or movement) being followed by a soft one, or vice versa, with no transition. The markings *crescendo* and *diminuendo* are comparatively rare. When a *crescendo* is desired, it is often achieved by means of successive phrases, each marked one degree louder.

All of Orff's works have their centers of gravity in extended choruses. This is eminently true of the trilogy (*Carmina Burana*, *Catulli Carmina*, and *Trionfo di Afrodite*), each member of which is in the nature of an oratorio and is almost equally as effective in concert form as in the theater. In *Die Bernauerin* the long chorus that fills the third scene of Act I is balanced by another enormous chorus (Scene 7) in Act II. *Der Mond* is in a certain sense built around the chorus of the dead that comes in the middle of the piece. The choruses in *Die Kluge* are less extensive but occupy nevertheless a position of primary importance.

The choral writing is clear and effective, varying constantly in texture and in compass. Unison writing alternates with a choral setting in which the parts are divided and spread out to produce a fullness of sound that may be rich or brilliant as required. The alternation of phrases between female and male voices is standard procedure, as is the doubling of the female by the male voices an octave lower (cf. Ex. 2). The flexibility of Orff's choral writing is one of the most attractive features of his music.

With the exception of *Carmina Burana*, all the works include spoken as well as sung passages for chorus, either declaimed or with "Sprechstimme." The sixth scene of *Die Bernauerin*, consisting entirely of an extended "Sprechchor," is unusually effective in its dramatic context. *Astutuli* is, with the exception of a few sung notes, entirely spoken, with a constantly varying texture in the voices and in the percussion orchestra.

The point of departure in Orff's music is always the text. In a sense, indeed, the music is an illustration or decoration of the text and has little or no *raison d'être* apart from the words to which it is fashioned. In the synthesis of sung and spoken word, dance, and scenic art that is Orff's ideal, the word plays the most important role. The most radical example of pure concentration on the text is *Antigone*, a piece lasting some three hours, performed without pause, and consisting almost



entirely of declamation. Rhythmic recitation, often unaccompanied or punctuated by brief interjections in the orchestra, constitutes the major part of the work. The declamation takes place on rapid repeated notes, broken by occasional melismatic passages. Long *ostinato* passages in the orchestra often provide a rhythmic background but never interfere with the text.

Successive repetitions of a short phrase of text constitute a mannerism that sometimes verges on the ridiculous. The beginning of *Die Bernauerin* is a classic example:

## Ex. 16

Der weische Spielmann

*Antigone* is the most striking example of Orff's simplification of the musical material. In view of his *stylistic* asceticism, however, his treatment of the orchestra is surprisingly prodigal. The score calls for six pianos, four harps, six flutes, six oboes, six trumpets, nine basses, and a percussion section demanding ten to fifteen players. The wind instruments play only occasionally, towards the end of the piece, and then chiefly in unison.

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## CARMINA BURANA

*Carmina Burana. Cantiones profanae cantoribus et choris cantande comitantibus instrumentis atque imaginibus magicis* (1936). Woodwinds in 3, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, 5 timpani, 5 percussionists, celesta, 2 pianos, strings; large chorus, small chorus, boys' chorus; soloists. Twenty-five separate movements based on texts (student songs) in Latin, German, and French from a manuscript of 1280. Fourteen of the movements are for chorus.

*Carmina Burana* is in effect a cantata, as effective in concert as

in the theater — more so, if the staging is not excellent. No indications as to the manner of staging are given. The work is divided into three parts: *Spring*, *In the Tavern*, and *Love*. The subject-matter of the individual numbers consists of variations, so to speak, on these three themes, ranging in mood from lyrical to dramatic.

#### CATULLI CARMINA

*Catulli Carmina. Ludi Scaenici* (1943). Four pianos, 4 timpani, 10-12 percussionists; soloists, chorus. Twelve settings of Latin poetry by Catullus. The opening and closing choruses in Latin by Orff. The chorus predominates throughout.

The main action recounts the story of Catullus's love for the beautiful Lesbia: happiness, disappointment, jealousy, betrayal, and renunciation. It is contained within a "framing" action, in which love is disputed pro and contra by young men and women on the one hand and a group of old men on the other. The main action, divided into three acts, is sung unaccompanied.

*Catulli Carmina* expresses as no other work of Orff's an intensity of passion that ranges from the intimate to the orgiastic. It is, in this writer's opinion, possibly the most successfully realized, the one in which he entirely fulfills what he sets out to do, both musically and dramatically.

#### TRIONFO DI AFRODITE

*Trionfo di Afrodite, Concerto Scenico* (1951). Woodwinds in 3, 6 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, 2 tubas, 2 harps, 3 guitars, 3 pianos, 6 timpani, percussion, strings; soloists, large chorus, small chorus. Behind the stage: harp, 2 pianos, 10 violins (*ad lib.*), 2 violas, double bass, glockenspiel, xylophone, marimbaphone, cymbals. Texts in Latin and Greek by Catullus, Sappho, and Euripides.

The "action," if such it may be called, concerns the ancient ceremonies connected with the wedding of a young couple. Youths of both sexes invoke Hymen, the god of marriage; the wedding ceremony is consummated; in the apotheosis Aphrodite appears, uniting in her person corporeal and spiritual love. The music consists of a series of choruses, alternating with solo passages, of a ritual and incantational nature, ranging from the ecstatic to the orgiastic.

No indication regarding the staging is given for this essentially static piece, which calls for a performance combining the qualities of oratorio and pantomimic theater. It is one of the most difficult of Orff's works to produce, and perhaps not the most rewarding.

Orff has combined the three works *Carmina Burana*, *Catulli Carmina*, and *Afrodite* under the title *I Trionfi*.

#### DER MOND

*Der Mond. Ein kleines Welttheater* (1938; new version 1945). 3 flutes, 3 oboes, 3 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, 5 timpani, 5 percussionists, harmonium, accordeon, celesta, piano, harp, zither, strings; small mixed chorus in the orchestra. On the stage: organ, mixed chorus, drums, cymbals, bells, tamtams, thunder machine, wind machine. Based on a fairy tale by the brothers Grimm. Text by Orff.

Four boys steal the moon and bring it to a land that had previously known only darkness. There they grow old as "keepers" of the moon. As they die, each one takes his quarter with him in his coffin. In the realm of the dead, they reconstruct the moon; the shades wake from their eternal sleep and engage in wild revelry. Petrus descends from the upper regions, finds the situation to his taste and drinks himself into a stupor, as do the shades as well. He finally blows out the moon and tells the dead to return to sleep for ever.

*Der Mond* is the most "operatic" of Orff's stage works. It is chiefly sung, with some spoken dialogue and *Sprechstimme*; choruses (including *Sprechchor*) play a large role. It is also perhaps the most readily and innocently enjoyable in that the irony and malice that underlie other pieces is scarcely in evidence. Even in the scene of the dancing shades, good humor prevails. *Der Mond* captures the atmosphere of the fairy tale.

#### DIE KLUGE

*Die Kluge. Die Geschichte von dem König und der klugen Frau* (1942). Nine singing roles. Woodwinds in 3, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, 4 percussionists, harp, celesta, piano, strings. On the stage: organ, various drums, bells, three trumpets. Text by Orff, based on a fairy tale by the brothers Grimm.

A peasant, unjustly imprisoned by the king, is freed when his

daughter, the wise one, answers the king's three riddles, whereupon the king decides to make her his next queen (he has already had many). As the wedding feast is in progress, two peasants appear and beseech the king to decide the question of the ownership of a newly-born donkey. He decides unfairly, and since the queen tries to help the injured party, the king orders her to leave the castle, saying she can take with her whatever she most desires. Before she leaves, she gives him a sleeping draught. When he awakens, he is with her somewhere in the country; she had packed him in her trunk and taken him along.

In *Die Kluge* Orff's ironic wit gives a sophisticated turn to the fairy tale. It is perhaps the most accessible of all his works, not least because of the musical style, which is more "tuneful" than in most of his writing. The success of the piece depends to a great extent on the staging.

#### EIN SOMMERNACHTSTRAUM

*Ein Sommernachtstraum* (Shakespeare), *nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel eingerichtet und mit Musik versehen* (1932/52). Orchestra in the pit: 3 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 3 horns, timpani, percussion, harp, celesta, 2 mandolins, strings. On the stage: 3 trumpets, clarinet, cornet, trombone, cimbalom, 2 violins, double bass, percussion. Behind the stage: mixed chorus, percussion, thunder and wind machine. The work is practically through-composed, rather than being fitted out with incidental music. The following elements are employed alternately: a) short instrumental pieces and choruses interspersed throughout; b) rhythmic declamation of the text against held chords in the accompaniment (pitch not indicated but rhythm notated); c) free declamation of the text against "background" music; d) spoken dialogue, without music.

#### DIE BERNAUERIN

*Die Bernauerin, Ein bairisches Stück* (1945). Woodwinds in 3, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, 7 timpani, percussion, celesta, harp, 2 pianos, strings; speaker, soloists, large chorus.

The time: "more than 500 years ago."

In the baths in Augsburg, Albrecht, young Duke of Bavaria, becomes enamored of Agnes Bernauerin, daughter of the bath's proprietor and a great beauty. She rejects his advances, as the chorus describes her

charms minutely. The following scene (in Straubing) reveals that she has become the Duchess of Bavaria. The citizenry is aroused by this surprising development and accuses her of being a witch. In Albrecht's absence she is arrested and drowned on the orders of Albrecht's father, reigning Duke in Munich. A long, fantastic witches' chorus, followed by a people's chorus. Albrecht returns, learns of the tragedy and prepares to march with an army on Munich. A messenger enters to inform Albrecht that he is now the reigning Duke of Bavaria; his father is dead.

The text, by Orff himself, is in Bavarian dialect. The presence of the two huge choruses gives this work the character of an oratorio, despite the dramatic content. There is little action as such; rather the results of the action constitute the material. The only sung parts are the choruses and occasional short solos; the leading roles are spoken.

*Die Bernauerin* is the most intensely dramatic of Orff's works, both in its "blood and thunder" story and in the musical counterpart thereto. While the music does not carry the plot but is more a commentary on changed situations, it is charged with tension.

#### ASTUTULI

*Astutuli, Eine bairische Komödie* (1946-53). Percussion orchestra: 8 or 9 players. The usual percussion instruments, plus "Steinspiel," 5 water glasses, wind machine, rattles, etc.

The time: "unthinkably long ago."

A group of itinerant players appears in an improvised theater in the courtyard of an inn. The mayor and his three daughters, two vagabonds, and many townsfolk are present. After several "magic" tricks the "barker" displays an invisible cloak that enables men to see the future. The mayor disrobes and puts on the invisible cloak. All others follow suit, stripping to their underclothes. The "barker" blows out the lights and tells the crowd to wait quietly and they will see the future. The vagabonds become suspicious and discover that the players have absconded with everyone's clothes and money. Pandemonium. Accused of complicity the two vagabonds make their escape as the players return in new disguises. The "barker" tells of the "goldmaker" who is expected the following day; he can turn buttons into groschen and taler into gold ducats. The mayor orders all citizens to bring their talers to the "goldmaker" the next day. The citizens, beside themselves with joy, dance wildly in their underclothes.

The text, by Orff, is in Bavarian dialect. Spoken dialogue alternates with rhythmic recitation (solo and in chorus), accompanied by the percussion.

This is broad comedy — satirical, sardonic, Rabelaisian. The seemingly naive story is filled with poisoned darts.

#### ANTIGONE

*Antigone, Ein Trauerspiel des Sophokles von Hölderlin* (1948). 5 pianos, 4 harps, 6 flutes, 6 oboes, 6 trumpets, 9 string basses, 10-15 percussionists; soloists, chorus.

Hölderlin's text is couched in a difficult German, highly compressed, employing words and syntax that are, to say the least, uncommon. To this elevated language, Orff has written his most ascetic music, in which all superfluous elements are excluded. Practically nothing "happens" on the stage; the music is concerned primarily with creating the proper atmosphere — that of a religious mystery, a cult-drama in the ancient Greek sense — in which the text achieves its full value.

If the performance and staging are not on the highest artistic level the work can be monotonous, arid, or downright boring.

#### ENTRATA

*Entrata nach William Byrd* (1928). Four flutes, 4 oboes, 2 bassoons, contrabassoon, 4 horns, 8 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, 8 timpani (2 players), cymbals, 2 harps, 2 pianos (eight hands), celesta, glockenspiel, organ, strings.

This curious twelve-minute piece is Orff's only orchestral work still in circulation. Based on Byrd's *The Bells*, it corresponds exactly to Orff's mono-harmonic methods, being in effect a long embroidery of a pedal point on C. Descending scale passages in various rhythms constitute the chief melodic material, contrasting with ascending scales and other short phrases in a framework of varying dynamics. The piece is scored for five "choirs" — in effect five orchestras, each with its characteristic timbre.

#### DAS SCHULWERK

*Das Schulwerk, Musik für Kinder* (1930-54). A series of five volumes, providing material for the education of children: songs, dances, and little pieces based on a wide range of material from nursery songs

to old French ballads and Goethe. By means of singing, clapping, playing percussion instruments, recorder, etc. the child is gradually introduced to the various elements of music. The work has grown out of Orff's long practical experience with the musical education of children.

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In his effort to renovate the musical theater of today Orff discards all the traditions and trappings of opera in the usual sense. He seeks his solution in a kind of cross between Greek drama and the opera of the early 17th century, which was in itself an attempt to recover the simplicity of the Greek theater. As with the composers around 1600 his desire for renewal finds expression in drastic simplification of the musical material, in the elimination of polyphony, and in concentration on the word as the primary factor.

We are faced here with a deliberate and calculated return to simplicity of musical material and musical methods — to rhythmic, harmonic, melodic, and formal procedures that seem to ignore the entire development of music during hundreds of years. For some critics, who are concerned primarily with the style and the idiom of music, Orff is a Simple Simon, whose voluntary dissociation from the main stylistic currents of contemporary music is a cardinal weakness. For others he is an innovator and a prophet, whose new methods and whose very primitivism are designed to save the musical stage from decay. Which of these opinions is right, only time will tell. Certain it is, however, that his style is unique among contemporary composers and that his conception of the musical stage is highly original.



## COMMEDIA DELL' ARTE AND OPERA

By NINO PIRROTTA

I WOULD prefer that what I am going to say about the two most typical forms of the Italian theater—*commedia dell' arte* and opera—should not take the form of a parallel. For, although my exposition will mainly refer to the analogies and correspondences existing between them, there are also many different features by means of which each of these two manifestations of Italian life in the 17th and 18th centuries preserves its own independent physiognomy. If I may be permitted to make a comparison, I would choose, even though it is old and much abused, that of two branches growing from a common trunk—two branches not quite opposite and divergent, but near each other in their origin, then sometimes separated, sometimes brought nearer by the imponderable factors of air, of light, of the juices running through them and nourishing them.

Of the two branches the *commedia dell' arte* is the older. Its beginning is generally fixed in the first half of the 16th century,<sup>1</sup> only the last decade of which will see the first attempts at opera. The term itself, *commedia dell' arte*, requires clarification. We shall never meet any play bearing such a title, as others are called, for instance, tragedies, farces, or operas. It is only a verbal abbreviation to indicate the comedies—in the general meaning of both comic and tragic plays—that were performed by the *comici dell' arte*. That means by professional players, who found in spectacle and recitation the essential means and reasons of their life; who also, though often of rustic origin and of low condition, came little by little to be accepted and to gain admirers in the most illustrious courts.

The plays performed by such actors were doubly in contrast with the literary comedies of the Renaissance, generally performed by amateur players. The latter represented a kind of work in which, according to

<sup>1</sup> See for general information and bibliography on this subject: M. Apollonio, *Storia della Commedia dell' Arte*, Rome, 1930; A. Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, London, 1931; K. M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, Oxford, 1934.



its learned, humanistic end, the written text imposed its rules, and the author was always the supreme arbiter of the performance. In the *commedia dell' arte*, on the contrary, we have an essentially popular repertory, often in dialect, in which the dialogue is completely left to the player's capacity for improvisation, only a plot outline, the so-called *scenario*, having been decided upon in advance. Such a technique certainly originated from the conditions in which the activity of the *comici dell' arte* took place, and answered the practical need for a rapid turnover of the repertory. But it proved also to be a special mode of expression, in which the vocation and the genius of uncommonly gifted players found their opportunity and their particular convenience.

Being generally devoid of any literary ambition, the *comici* had no other aim than the pleasure of their public. And they had the advantage over the authors and players of regular comedies of long experience as to the most suitable means for arousing the approbation of the audience. Among these means music certainly did not take the last place. But it often happens in the history of music that the more widely diffused and popular are the facts the historian wishes to examine, the fewer precise elements of knowledge are available to him. For, in this case, at the time of its performance every one knew the music performed and the ways and means of its execution; but time has swallowed and buried this direct knowledge and has left us only scattered and second- or third-hand documents. We need to gather them together and laboriously interpret them to recover a pale image of a reality that in its own time must have imposed itself with the most obvious power of suggestion.

This is what happened too with the musical settings of the *commedia dell' arte*. Pictorial documents, however, give us evidence of the frequent presence of music; such, for instance, are the many paintings or engravings, sometimes referring to a much earlier phase of the *commedia*, that represent some troupes of mountebanks or pedlars giving their spectacles on platforms in the open air, often without the help of any kind of scenic décor. Each one of the groups shows, generally, some musical instrument, such as a harp, a lute, a guitar, or a bowed instrument. Three of these troupes are to be seen, for instance, in an engraving by Giacomo Franco (from his *Habiti d' huomini et donne vinitiani*, Venice, 1610), competing for the attention of the various types of people walking on the Piazza S. Marco in Venice (Fig. 1). Perhaps a little less realistic, but not less significant, are the fantasies of Jacques Callot, namely his *Balli di Sfessania*.<sup>2</sup> The title of this collection

<sup>2</sup> The date of the *Balli di Sfessania* is about 1622, after Callot's return to France.

refers to a real Neapolitan entertainment, a popular dance also called *ballo alla maltese*,<sup>3</sup> and the engravings represent some well-known characters of the *commedia*—the so-called *maschere*—giving themselves over to the frenzied and acrobatic dance, accompanied by the sound of musical instruments (Figs. 2a, b). A little open-air stage in the background of one of these engravings indicates the relation of the *Sfessania* to the comedy performances; but the main evidence for it is given by the title-page (Fig. 2c) in which the dance takes place in an actual comedy scene.

In another category we can draw the same conclusion from documents referring to the coincidence of musical and theatrical activities in the same people—musicians having familiarity with the stage, or theatrical people practicing music. We can find some authors and players of comedies in the list of the organists of the church of S. Marco. As early as the first years of the 16th century we meet in this office a *frate* Giovanni Armonio, who was a player and a writer of comedies, only one of which is preserved in print. Many others, the subjects of which were not always quite pious, were often performed in the monastery of the Crocicchieri to which he belonged.<sup>4</sup> Also an

But he must have attended some actual performance of this dance much earlier, perhaps during his first stay in Rome about 1610. The entire series has been reprinted in facsimile edition by V. Manheimer (Potsdam, 1921).

<sup>3</sup> It may have received this name because it was originally danced by Moorish slaves, whose market was Malta, and it is probably the same as the dance called *fiscagne* by Brantôme. See B. Croce, *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento*, 2nd ed., Bari, 1934, p. 195; also G. B. Basile, *Il Pentamerone ossia la Fiaba delle Fiabe* ed. by B. Croce, Bari, 1925, I, 4. Closely related to this *ballo* are the *moresche* by Lasso (and some Italian composers) in which one of the principal characters is Lucia; in fact still another and more picturesque name given to the *Sfessania* was *Lucia canazza*.

<sup>4</sup> *Stephanium*, a Latin comedy by Armonio, was performed some time before its publication in 1502. Giovanni Armonio, a native of the Abruzzi, was appointed organist at S. Marco on Sept. 16, 1516. He kept his post until Nov. 22, 1552, when, being old and infirm, he was retired on a pension. His successor was A. Padovano (see G. Benvenuti, in *Istituz. e Monum. dell' Arte Musicale Italiana*, I, Milan, 1931, pp. XXV, XXXIX, XLIII). He was mentioned by F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singulare*, Venice, 1581, f. 168b, as one of the early players of comedies in Venice. He was also associated with the actor Antonio Molino in the formation of a musical academy, probably that mentioned by A. F. Doni in his *Libreria*, Venice, 1551. Further on Armonio, see E. A. Cicogna, *Iscrizioni veneziane*, Venice, 1850, V, 551-52, and B. Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra . . . in Venezia*, Venice, 1854-55, I, 72-76. The monastery of the Crocicchieri was one of the principal places of theatrical activity in the first half of the 16th century; see V. Rossi, *Le Lettere di M. Andrea Calmo*, Turin, 1888, p. XVII, and P. Molmenti, *Venezia nella vita privata*, 5th ed., Bergamo, 1911, III, 293-94.

organist of S. Marco and an author of comedies was Girolamo Parabosco from Piacenza, a pupil of Willaert and a man of greatly varied gifts. We learn from a Renaissance cook book that in 1548 one of his comedies was "well played with its proper music and necessary *intermezzi*."<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately neither the music nor the *intermezzi* found their way to us; so we never will be able to appreciate the propriety of the former or the necessity of the latter.

Parabosco is likely to have been portrayed<sup>6</sup> in Titian's *Venus and the Organist* in the Museo del Prado in Madrid (Fig. 3). The opulent image of the goddess in this painting is likewise probably borrowed from the real beauty of some Venetian courtesan. Such ladies were very frequent characters in the comedy (see Fig. 4) and, at the time of Parabosco, almost its only feminine public;<sup>7</sup> moreover they were often talented both in playing and singing, and so found little trouble in passing sometimes from their own profession to that of actress.<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact a little musical collection printed in Venice in 1588, the *Balli d' Arpicordo* by Marco Facoli, contains, after some real dance pieces, a series of instrumental versions of monodic songs, bearing the title of "Arie" accompanied by some feminine names: for instance, "Aria della Signora Livia," "Aria della Signora Fior d' Amore," "Aria della Marchetta Schiavonetta," and so on. Whether they are real or fictitious names, this indicates that each courtesan generally had a personal, favorite song—a custom that the corresponding comedy charac-

<sup>5</sup> Parabosco succeeded Jaquet Buus as organist at S. Marco in 1551 (see Benvenuti, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXIX, XLI-XLIII). He is the author of eight comedies, a tragedy, a book of *novelle*, some poems, two books of *Lettere*. The comedy to which this passage refers is *La Notte*, performed on Feb. 4, 1548, at Ferrara in the house of Cristoforo di Messisburgo, chief cook of the Este court. See C. di Messisburgo, *Banchetti, Compositioni di vivande*, Ferrara, 1549. Further on Parabosco see Caffi, *op. cit.*, I, 110-14, and A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, 1949, I, 444-48.

<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis was advanced by Benvenuti (*op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII, note 4) on the basis of Parabosco's known acquaintance with Aretino and other friends of Titian, and it was accepted by Einstein (*op. cit.*, I, 182).

<sup>7</sup> Even at the end of the century the ladies of the nobility were expected to attend comedy performances, if not without pleasure, with at least some sign of prudery.

<sup>8</sup> The appearance of feminine players on the stage started in Italy precisely in the second half of the 16th century. One of the earliest evidences (1564) is given by Apollonio, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

ters probably reproduced on the stage.<sup>9</sup> Moreover we find also, in the *Balli d' Arpicordo*, among the *arie* with feminine names and quite similar to them, an "Aria della Commedia" and an "Aria della Commedia nova."

Parabosco, with some other musicians—among whom was Jaquet Buus, also an organist of S. Marco—participated in a gay companionship of playwrights such as Antonfrancesco Doni and Ludovico Dolce, and players such as Antonio Molino, called Burchiella, and Andrea Calmo. About all these men there would be something to say regarding the relations between music and comedy. I shall however limit myself to the citation of a passage from one of the *Lettere* by Calmo,<sup>10</sup> very famous letters probably reproducing, in the dialect of Burano which they use, the fanciful and extravagant tirades that Calmo himself was accustomed to rumble on the stage. In the passage in question Calmo boasts that he and his friends had restored the language of their fathers—meaning the particular dialect they mainly employed in their plays—and had reestablished the art of singing *strambotti*—of "*strambotizare musicalmente*."<sup>11</sup> This verb "*strambotizare*" brings us into contact with

<sup>9</sup> For the content of the *Balli d' Arpicordo* see C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana*, Florence, 1952, pp. 59-60. Facoli's little collection of songs bearing the names of courtesans may be considered a musical counterpart of the fourth book of the *Lettere* by Andrea Calmo (see note 10). The preceding books of Calmo's *Lettere* contain letters addressed to real people, among whom are a few real courtesans. The fourth book is *completely* devoted to them, but evidently uses fictitious names. It is noteworthy that every letter in this book ends with a *strambotto*.

<sup>10</sup> An actor and a playwright, Calmo (1510-71) appeared not only in Venice but also in other cities, including Padua, Bologna, and Rome. He is considered together with Angelo Beolco (called Ruzzante), Molino, and Parabosco one of the forerunners of the *commedia dell' arte*. Following the example of Aretino he published, between 1548 and 1566, four books of *Lettere* (also called *Chiribizzi piacevoli*), the three earlier of which pretend to have been written by fishermen from the islands near Venice (an allusion to Calmo's own humble birth), the fourth by a character resembling Pantalone.

<sup>11</sup> See Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Rossi does not pay particular attention to this letter (*Libro I*, n. 10), the content of which is probably autobiographical. The letter seems to complain of the Venetians' lack of gratitude towards Calmo and emphatically compares him to many great men mistreated by their fellow-citizens. Among the personal qualifications it mentions, the first mockingly refers to the fisherman who is supposed to be the writer ("Buregheto Canestrin da Lio mazor"), but the following ("chi ha redrezzao la idioma d' i antighi e torna el strambotizar musicalmente?") evidently are related to Calmo himself ("mi frari e mi, a honor de missier S. Marco"). Likewise the titles of the four books, with the exception of the second, consistently mention the "lingua antica volgare," or the "vulgar antiqua lingua Veneta." As regards music the *Lettere* contain frequent references to musical instruments and technique. Some letters are addressed to musicians, such as Giammaria del Cornetto, Ippolito

all the poetic and musical literature of the *frottole* of the late 15th and the early 16th centuries, the obscure literary meaning of which, often depending on roguish language and allusions, was certainly completed in the performance by miming and dance.

Venice was not the only center of these performances in which music had a part. In Naples, too, about the middle of the 16th century, some performances of comedy took place in which many well-known musicians such as Luigi and Fabritio Dentice, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, Gian Leonardo dall' Arpa, Giaches da Ferrara, and the famous teacher of Caccini, Scipione del Palla, played important roles.<sup>12</sup> Also from a Neapolitan musician of the court of Munich, Massimo Troiano, we have a document that is considered, somewhat improperly, to be the oldest preserved *scenario* of the *commedia dell' arte*. It is in fact not the *scenario* but the report<sup>13</sup> of an improvised comedy that was played in 1568 at the Bavarian court, in the style of the *commedia dell' arte* but by amateur players. The most famous member of the cast was Orlando di Lasso, who, probably remembering the comedy experiences of his youth in Italy, played the role of the protagonist, that of the Venetian Magnifico, already endowed with the name and attributes of the mask of Pantalone.<sup>14</sup>

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With this performance at the Bavarian court, and with the Neapolitan comedies mentioned earlier, we are no longer dealing with the

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Tromboncino, Parabosco, and Willaert. Other musicians mentioned are Marco da l'Aquila, Arcadelt, Jaquet Berchem, Jaquet Buus, Jaquet de Ferrara, Jusquin, Francesco da Milano, Sigismondo Ongaro, Perisson (Cambio?), Rore, Nicolò Rodioto, Domenico Rosseto, Alvise (Castellin) da Treviso, Verdelot.

<sup>12</sup> See B. Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3rd ed., Bari, 1926, pp. 22-23, 26.

<sup>13</sup> This report is included in Troiano's *Discorsi delli Trionfi . . . nelle sontuose Nozze dell' Ill.mo . . . Duca Guglielmo*, Munich, 1568 (reprinted with a different title in Venice, 1569) pp. 183-88. For modern editions (of the so-called *scenario* only), see Petraccone, *La Commedia dell' Arte*, Naples, 1927, pp. 297-301, and the English translation in Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 5-11.

<sup>14</sup> The performance took place in the Castle of Trausnitz, the favorite residence of Duke Wilhelm V. Pictorial reflections of this performance, as well as of Wilhelm's love of improvised Italian comedy, may still be seen in the frescoes preserved in what was originally the Duke's bedroom and on the walls of the spiral staircase called the *Narrentreppe*. See for the description of these frescoes and for information about other comedy performances at the Bavarian court Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 11-16 and plates facing pp. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14.

authentic *commedia dell' arte*, but with its imitation. We shall not be able to avoid using this reflecting mirror in order to approach at last some musical documents. We can find them in those works by Orazio Vecchi and Adriano Banchieri that are generally known as dramatic madrigals or madrigal comedies. We know that in the title of his *Anfiparnaso* Vecchi intended to emphasize the unity, obtained for the first time in this work, of the Parnasses both of music and of comic poetry. This might sound like a complete negation of all that I have attempted to demonstrate heretofore; but we must consider that the people of that time, when speaking of music, meant both the theory and technique of the art and the actual music created in complete cognizance of its principles. The unity obtained for the first time in the *Anfiparnaso* is therefore, if any, that of the comedy with learned music. But if we examine its text as a comedy text, we will easily perceive that the action and the development of the play are far below the minimum of coherent and logical succession we should expect from the most mediocre comedy. There is in fact only a juxtaposition of scenes and episodes, for the greater part static or accessory from the theatrical point of view. Their connection and integration into a real comedy plot is left in great measure to the listener's imagination; in other words, these episodes are only allusions to an ensemble of situations and developments well known to the listener from the spectacles of the *commedia dell' arte*. So that the *Anfiparnaso* is as little a real comedy as the same composer's *Convito musicale* is a real banquet. In this latter we are regaled not with the courses of a real meal, but only with its musical *entremets*.<sup>15</sup> In the same way also in the *Anfiparnaso* the comedy is not the real aim, but only a pretext for a series of more or less picturesque, more or less amusing sketches and genre paintings.

A pretext is effective only for a time; so Vecchi abstained from repeating it, and sometimes replaced it with the above-mentioned frame of a banquet, sometimes with that of the *Veglie di Siena*, and so on. Or he actually underlined the character of an amusing and even satirical medley of his works by means of such a title as *Selva di varia ricreazione* or *I vari umori della musica moderna* (alternative title of the *Veglie di Siena*). We cannot praise his admirer and imitator Banchieri for equal

<sup>15</sup> Probably it is from the French *entremets* that there arose the Italian *intramessa* (entertainments between courses); from these in turn originated the theatrical and musical *intermedi* or *intermezzi*. See on the French *entremets*, H. Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour en France*, Paris, 1914, pp. 6-16; on the Italian *intramessa*, C. di Messisburgo, *op. cit.*, *passim* (also note 21 below).



moderation, because he three times repeated his attempt to join the two Parnasses: with *La Pazzia senile* (1600), with *Il Metamorfofi musicale* (1600), and with *La Saviezza giovanile* (1608).<sup>16</sup> Although also an author of purely literary comedies, Banchieri did not change Vecchi's model and proceedings in his musical comedies. The arguments, characters, and situations of these three works reproduce those of the *Anfiparnaso* with but small changes. At most the roles of the two old men who are the victims of the intrigue are reversed and the place of the action is put in a different town, so that the comedy—or pseudo-comedy—might be permitted to acquire a new background. For what is essential in each one of Banchieri's musical comedies is the picture of its surroundings, the touches of local color, the masquerade referring to this or that characteristic local kind of profession. Speaking in the language of the *commedia dell' arte*, these musical comedies are but three different realizations of a single *scenario*, filled each time with different dialogue and, above all, with new musical inventions—Banchieri's musical fancies or *lazzi*. It is not the characters of the plot, but Banchieri himself, who is the only real character of his comedies, showing on an ideal stage the resources of his humor and musical imagination.

Such pseudo-comedies, such reflected images of the *commedia dell' arte* allow us, however, to reach at least the knowledge of the most suitable occasions for the use of music in the course of the comedies. This use was quite natural in the case of songs, serenades, or dances required by the plot itself; it was less natural in the *intermedi*, which nonetheless seem to have been one of the most often exploited occasions for musical interludes, not unlike the parentheses that choruses and ballets will open later in the course of opera. Finally, both Vecchi's and Banchieri's musical comedies let us catch a glimpse of musical pieces occurring sometimes in the love dialogues or in the monologues, namely in those in which a character, speaking to himself, acquainted his public with the most striking features of his own character and condition.

Some further information we owe only to Banchieri. Vecchi had employed in his *Anfiparnaso* the usual resources of the madrigal setting in five parts. Banchieri not only restricted himself in his musical comedies to three-voice writing, but took care to submit his admired model to such a device. His *Studio dilettevole fiorito dal Anfiparnaso* is in fact

<sup>16</sup> See for the arguments of these works E. Vogel, *Bibliothek des gedruckten weltliche Vocalmusik Italiens*, Berlin, 1892, I, 57-61.



Fig. 1

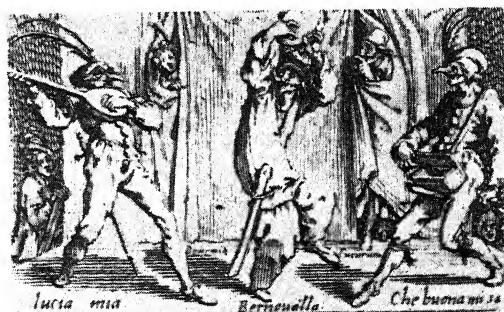




a.



b.



BALLI DI SFESSANIA

di Giacomo Callot.

c.

Engravings by J. Callot (c. 1622) from the *Balli di Sfessania*  
The Art Museum, Princeton University (Junius S. Morgan Collection)

Fig. 2



Titian's *Venus and the Organist* (G. Parabosco?)

Museo del Prado, Madrid

Fig. 3



Zanni, Pantalone, and a Young Lady  
Fresco in the Castle of Trausnitz, Room of William V (c. 1578)

Fig. 4



Arlecchino, Zanni, and Pantalone

French engraving from A. Beijer and P. L. Duchartre, *Recueil dit de Fossard*

nothing more than a reduction for three voices of Vecchi's comedy.<sup>17</sup> We find an explanation of this in the fact that Banchieri's works in five parts—as for instance the *Festino del Giovedì grasso*—are explicitly included and numbered among his madrigal books; while the musical comedies belong to the series of his books of *canzonette* and *villanelle*.<sup>18</sup> It shows Banchieri's consciousness of a traditional relation between the music of the *commedia dell' arte* and the easy, elegant, melodious genre of the *canzonette* and *villanelle alla napoletana*, the forerunners of the accompanied monody and of the Baroque aria.

We are once more concerned with that type of authentically or artificially popular music which in different ways runs through all the Italian musical Renaissance. The different names given to such music in the course of the 16th century indicate differences in the content and in the dialect of its texts, rather than considerable variations in its form. But once more we are only permitted to know this kind of music in a reflected form; in the form in which we find it in the printed collections of polyphonic music—that is, in the form by means of which the learned music tried to assimilate it. The adaptation to the polyphonic chorus, a means of performance different from the original one, is not the last of the deformations to which it was subjected in this process of assimilation. For, since the *frottole*, since the *strambotti* of the singers on the lute and on the lyre—the *cantori a liuto* and *cantori a lira*, among whom was such a famous improviser as Serafino Aquilano<sup>19</sup>—the sonority, the particular expression and characteristic harmonic features of this music were essentially connected with solo singing, in which the singer generally accompanied himself on a string instrument. It is obvious that this mode of performance was also the most suitable for the musical settings of the *commedia*. To the pictorial documents that I mentioned first we can add some illustrations from the edition of the *Anfiparnaso* showing singers of serenades accompanying themselves; or we may quote the parody of *Vestiva i colli*, a famous madrigal by

<sup>17</sup> See Vogel, *op. cit.*, I, 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> The *Pazzia senile* is numbered as *Libro Secondo, a Tre voci* (following the *Canzonette a Tre voci . . . Libro Primo*); the *Metamorfosi musicale* as *Quarto Libro delle Canzonette a Tre voci*; the *Saviezza giovanile* as *Quinto Libro de gli Terzetti*.

<sup>19</sup> This type of singer was often required for theatrical performances, as for instance Baccio Ugolini in 1480, and Manetto Migliorotti in 1495 for the role of the protagonist in Poliziano's *Orfeo*; likewise Tommaso Inghirami, called "Fedra" because of his performance of this role in Seneca's *Ippolito* in Rome.

Palestrina, which is sung in Banchieri's *Pazzia senile* with the interpolation of vocal imitations of a guitar ritornel.<sup>20</sup>

Some noticeable correspondences are to be found between the subjects and dialects of these more or less popular songs and those of the *commedia dell' arte*. It is impossible, for instance, not to recognize a relationship between the *madrigali alla pavana* sung by the players of the troupe of Ruzzante<sup>21</sup> and the Paduan dialect in which his comedies are written. When we meet some *bergamasche* among the *canzoni villanesche*, or *villotte*,<sup>22</sup> we cannot help remembering that Arlecchino usually spoke in the dialect of Bergamo, and that in general the character of the male servant of the *commedia dell' arte*, the *zanni*, was borrowed from the rustic ingenuousness of the porters from Bergamo, employed in Venice in the meanest and hardest work.<sup>23</sup> A kind of song called *giustiniana*, in Venetian dialect, usually has for its protagonist a sprightly and enterprising old man who has many points of resemblance with the mask of Pantalone. As regards the *greghesche*, this very special kind of song was practiced particularly by musicians, such as Andrea Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo, who were very intimately acquainted with the aforementioned actor Antonio Molino.<sup>24</sup> The *greghesche* owe their name to the use of a half-Venetian, half-oriental *lingua franca*, which was widely used in the Mediterranean ports, and which Molino introduced and frequently employed in his plays.

It cannot be only a coincidence, at least, that the era of the diffusion of the most widely popular type of song, the *villanella alla napoletana*,

<sup>20</sup> Of course this type of parody is a musical *lazzo* or joke, corresponding to the macaronic and corrupt quotations usually put into the mouth of Dottor Graziano.

<sup>21</sup> Ruzzante with five "fellows" and two women sang some "canzoni e madrigali alla pavana" after the sixth course of a banquet in Ferrara on Jan. 24, 1529. We owe this information to C. da Messisburgo (see also Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 344). It is one of the earliest mentions of the Renaissance madrigal, but it is hard to believe that in this case real madrigalesque settings are meant; rather light songs in dialect. The comedies by Angelo Beolco, called Ruzzante, are among the immediate predecessors of those of the *comici dell' arte*. See A. Mortier, *Ruzzante*, Paris, 1925-26.

<sup>22</sup> *Villotta* (as used for instance by Azzaiolo), *canzon villanesca*, and *villanella* are almost synonymous terms insofar as they indicate the setting of a dialect (Venetian, Paduan, Bergamasque, etc.) text. The songs specifically indicated *alla napoletana* stand out in this group for their particular expressive and technical features.

<sup>23</sup> See Apollonio, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-82.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Einstein, *The Greghesca and the Giustiniana*, in *Journ. of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, I (1948), 19-32, which also contains an exhaustive summary of the available information about Molino. Molino was not only a playwright and actor, but also a composer of madrigals.



corresponds to the period in which, after an initial phase nourished by the contributions of the players and dialects of Northern Italy, the *commedia dell' arte* received a considerable injection of Southern, particularly Neapolitan, elements. It is the moment in which beside Pantalone, Graziano, and the numberless troop of *zanni*—Arlecchino, Trappolino, Pedrolino, Burattino, etc.—the characters of Southern origin made their appearance: the Maramao, Coviello, Meo Squacquera, and, the most universal and most talented, the immortal Pulcinella. About the same time the character of the German soldier, the drunken but jovial *lansquenet*, from which the musical *todesca* had taken its origin, gave way to the *miles gloriosus*, to the much scorned yet impudently boisterous Capitan Matamoros, or Capitan Spezzaferro, in which the spirit of vengeance of the Neapolitan people ridiculed the hated troops of the Spanish viceroys.

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Mutual exchanges and analogies between song and *commedia dell' arte* are only natural. For a song can scarcely obtain a wide popularity without sketching either a character or a dramatic or comic situation. And it is useless to ask whether the comedy suggested these characters and situations to the songs, or the songs to the comedy; for they obviously are the product of a similar process of choice, determined in a unique way by the preferences and aversions of an entire society.

What is important for us is to point out that before the rise of the opera the *commedia dell' arte* had already created many of the conditions necessary for its acceptance by the public. This will not be very evident if we limit ourselves to a consideration of the opera in its initial phase, characterized by an aristocratic and highly cultural stamp. Nevertheless the influence of humanism and of esthetic theories on its birth has been exaggerated.<sup>25</sup> Even in the earlier phase the distance between opera and *commedia dell' arte* was not so great that it could not be bridged. As a matter of fact it was bridged by the lords of Florence and Mantua when they easily alternated the courtly performances of opera with those of the *zanni*.<sup>26</sup> But we shall pass over the aristocratic opera

<sup>25</sup> See my article on *Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, XL (1954), 169-89.

<sup>26</sup> Much information on performances by *zanni* in Florence is given by A. Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea*, Florence, 1905 (see Index under "Zanni, commedia delli").

in Florence and Mantua and its continuation in Rome. For the tradition of the musical theater actually originated from another tendency, the so-called Venetian opera, which we can call only for the sake of contrast democratic.

I do not believe in the idea of a decisive influence of the opening of the Venetian public opera houses on the new direction of this genre. I think that it was only the most important and most typical episode in a more general operatic activity, to which too little attention has been paid until now: that of the itinerant troupes of singers, generally from Rome or trained in the Roman style of singing. Even before the opening of the first Venetian opera theater in 1637, such towns as Parma, Bologna, and Padua had already seen some opera performances by this type of wandering operatic company.<sup>27</sup> In Venice too, Benedetto Ferrari and Francesco Manelli, the promoters of the first spectacles in the Teatro S. Cassiano, arrived at the head of a company that had acted one year before in Padua.<sup>28</sup> And they did not limit their performances to Venice, although this city soon became the most important seat of their activity. We know, for instance, that an attempt by Ferrari to book his troupe into the theaters of Milan,<sup>29</sup> in the same way he had done in Bologna, failed, probably because of the rivalry of another company of singers which enjoyed the support of the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Oñate. In 1651 this latter company, known as *I Febi armonici*, will introduce opera to Naples, the Duke of Oñate being now the Spanish viceroy in that city.<sup>30</sup>

A more thorough investigation into the opera librettos of the middle of the 17th century should increase the information we have about the

<sup>27</sup> See N. Pirrotta, *Tre Capitoli su Cesti*, in *La Scuola Romana*, publ. by the Accademia Musicale Chigiana, Siena, 1953, pp. 28-31. There (p. 30) the quotation of Carissimi's *Amorose passioni di Fileno* is incorrectly referred to 1635, and must be replaced by that of *Carillo tradito* by Franc. Bonini (of Rome!), performed at Bologna in 1635.

<sup>28</sup> The opera performed there in April 1636 was *Ermiona*, text by P. E. degli Obizzi, music by F. Sances of Rome (see B. Brunelli, *I Teatri di Padova*, Padua, 1921, pp. 72-77). Among the singers were Girolamo Medici, Felicita Uga, Maddalena Manelli, Anselmo Marconi, who sang in the following years in Venice, and Monteverdi's son, Francesco. Maddalena Manelli is the wife of Francesco, who was *maestro di cappella* in Tivoli in 1627, but left this town in 1629, probably finding it more profitable to travel with his wife in Northern Italy. Its *Delia* had been performed in 1630 at Bologna before its appearance at Venice in 1639. See on Manelli, G. Radiciotti, *L' Arie musicale in Tivoli*, Tivoli, 1921, pp. 41-54.

<sup>29</sup> See Pirrotta, *Tre Capitoli su Cesti*, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> See Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli*, pp. 80-82.



lyric troupes of this time. The opera owes its diffusion to them more than to local theatrical enterprises, and to them too it owes its new direction, which had, at least in earlier times, more a national than Venetian character; for, if it was subjected to any particular influence at all, it was that of Roman opera and cantata.

The existence of wandering lyric companies not only marked a point of external resemblance with the itinerant troupes of the *comici dell'arte*. It also started an intense rivalry on the part of the latter, who felt themselves menaced in a realm that until now had belonged only to them. One of the effects of such a competition was a closer resemblance between the two kinds of spectacles. On the one hand the *comici* were induced to give music a greater part than the already considerable one it had in their plays; and they also tried to appropriate another feature of the musical spectacle, the use of imposing scenic décor and machinery. So, for instance, the *Finta Pazza* by Strozzi and Saccati—an ambiguous work halfway between the comedy with music and dance and the opera with spoken dialogues—was performed at Paris in 1645 by one of the most famous troupes of *comici*, with décors and machinery by Torelli and choreography by Balbi.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand we can find evidence of the musical capacity of the *comici* in a well-known episode of the performance of Monteverdi's *Arianna* in Mantua (1608). The singer for whom the role of Arianna had been intended had died and the part was entrusted to Virginia Andreini-Ramponi of the *Comici Fedeli* troupe, who not only was able to learn it in a few days, but sang it, according to reports of the time, in such a way that she made all the ladies present weep.<sup>32</sup>

As for the lyric companies, it was only natural that they did their best to borrow all the elements suitable for transference into their own brand of spectacle, the precise shape of which was still too recent and

<sup>31</sup> Balbi had already collaborated in the first Venetian opera, the *Andromeda* by Ferrari and Manelli (1637); but from 1641 he was associated with Giacomo Torelli in the productions of a new theater, the Nuovissimo, the brief activity of which was characterized by lavish stage apparatus and machinery (see S. T. Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 26, 31). The libretto of *Venere gelosa*, one of the first operas performed in the Teatro Nuovissimo, was dedicated by Torelli to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (see L. N. Galvani, *alias* G. Salvioli, *I Teatri musicali di Venezia nel sec. XVII*, Milan, p. 68). Further concerning the *Finta pazza* in Paris, see H. Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, Paris, 1913.

<sup>32</sup> For further operatic activity of Virginia Ramponi, stage name "Florinda," at the court of the Savoia in Turin, see Laglois, *Musici alla corte dei Savoia*.

uncertain to offer resistance to such injections. Borrowing from the repertory of the *comici* resulted not only from their competition, but also from the fact that since the beginning of the 17th century the *comici* had embraced the whole field of dramatic activity, practically overshadowing every literary production. They had a very wide repertory, for which they drew from any Italian or foreign source, simply translating everything to their own mode of performance. That their repertory covered all the theatrical genres is shown even by the classification that we find in almost all the collections of *scenari*.<sup>33</sup> There "comedies" includes those plots that take place in a bourgeois or popular milieu, and that largely employ the traditional characters, the *maschere*, with their particular names, dialects, fashions, and oddities. "Tragedy" is the name given to those *scenari* involving killings, horrible vengeance, and thrilling apparitions (thus exaggerating a tendency of the Italian literary tragedy, nearer to Seneca's model than to that of Greek tragedy). There was finally a third category of *scenari*, the protagonists of which, like those of the tragedy, were required to be of royal or princely rank; but the plots, although involving entangled and romanesque vicissitudes, nonetheless avoided the horrible and fatal episodes characterizing the tragedies. These plots finally reached a happy close, in which general contentment and recovered serenity were always sealed with a good many more or less well-adjusted marriages radiating an optimistic forecast of eternal happiness. These *scenari*, being neither tragedies nor comedies, bore the name of "*opera regia*," in short, "*opera*."<sup>34</sup> Not only the name but the ingredients were those usually employed in the opera librettos. This was a basic prescription in which thousands of repetitions and variations in the course of about two centuries of opera were not to introduce any appreciable change.

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The part allotted to the comic element in the opera is small but not devoid of importance. Of the attempts made to transfer the

<sup>33</sup> The most complete lists of existing collections of *scenari* and of their contents are to be found in Nicoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-90, and Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 506-54, followed in the latter (pp. 555-674) by a large selection of *scenari* both in Italian and in English translation. Among the other modern editions of *scenari* the most extensive are: A. Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della Commedia dell' Arte*, Florence, 1880; F. Neri, *Scenari della Maschere in Arcadia*, Città di Castello, 1913; E. Petraccone, *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> "Opera" as a general term was originally applied to every type of written or improvised play. Since, however, comedies and tragedies were usually given their specific type-names, "opera" came to be used for the third category of plot.

*maschere* into the musical opera we know only a single example, belonging to the aristocratic Roman opera. It is *Chi soffre speri* by Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli, the libretto of which, by Cardinal Rospigliosi, includes a complete series of masks, namely Coviello, Zanni Moschino, Colillo, and Fritellino. It was performed in 1639 and it probably did not lack some suggestions from a very versatile artist, himself an amateur of the improvised play, the Cavalier Bernini.<sup>35</sup> But it must have been felt very soon in these attempts that the musical *recitativo*, although already very fast and talkative, was not able to keep pace with the recitation of the *comici*, so rich in verbal jokes and so varied in tone. In a later musical comedy also by Rospigliosi, *Dal male il bene*, only one comic character is introduced, the servant Tabacco, who even in his name avoids repeating those of the traditional *maschere*. Nevertheless the comic male servant evolved into a traditional character of the 17th-century opera. The variations of his name—Demo, Momo, Simo, Bilenio, Falloppo, Lurcano, and even Buffo—must not have produced appreciable change in the character itself, or in the fashion of his dress, probably resembling that of the former buffoons. Whether he is located in the fabulous Colchis, in the Persia of the Satraps, or in Imperial Rome, whether he follows Hercules in his descent into hell, or, at the foot of Vesuvius, gives advice in Neapolitan dialect to the Amazons at war with Theseus, he is frightened and boisterous, foolish and mischievous, sometimes drunken but always greedy. His favorite jokes, his *lazzi*, are chosen from those most suitable for underlining by the music: usually he stutters, giving amusing vocal imitations of military fanfares; and often his prolonged repetitions of a single syllable make him finish a word when the dialogue has already passed to other

<sup>35</sup> Bernini is well known as the designer of machinery, stage effects, and scenic décors for the opera productions of the Barberinis. Characteristically enough, Baldinucci's biography mentions as "Bernini's works" the "*commedia della Fiera*" (certainly *Chi soffre speri*, which contains the "intermezzo della fiera di Farfa," set to music by Marazzoli), the "*commedia della Marina*" (probably *Galatea*, libretto and music by Loreto Vittori), the "*commedia del Palazzo d' Atlante e d' Astolfo*" (evidently the opera by Rospigliosi and Luigi Rossi performed in 1642). A later opera by Rospigliosi and Abbatini, the *Comica del Cielo* performed in 1668, plays with the effect of a simulated opera stage on the real stage, already used by Bernini in his (?) "*commedia con due Prologhi, e due Teatri*." See F. Baldinucci, *Vita del Cav. G. L. Bernino*, Florence, 1682, pp. 76-77. Bernini was also fond of performing improvised comedies with his assistants (among whom was G. U. Abbatini, brother of the musician) in the Fonderia Vaticana (G. B. Passeri, *Vite de' Pittori Scultori ed Architetti*, Rome, 1772, p. 243). He was able to play every character, comic or serious; sometimes he performed every part of a comedy in order to show the people in the cast how they had to perform their roles.

subjects, or even when the characters present on the stage have changed, giving rise to puzzling mix-ups.

His equivalent among the feminine characters is the nurse or the old matron, who certainly must have shown in some detail of her dress the station of a former courtesan in retirement. On the musical side her ridiculousness mainly centered in her low contralto or even tenor voice increasing the absurdity of her love frenzies for some young page with a sharp and clear soprano voice. Frequently she gives mischievous advice to young ladies hesitating in their love affairs because of modesty or pride.

A third comic character, the guardian of the harem, did not find its previous model in the comedy. We have already seen the comic spirit at work in the opera through the inversion of the timbres of voice—Venus herself is given a tenor voice in Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* when she is disguised as an old woman; while adolescent pages usually sang soprano. But it is also true that the heroes who played the most important roles ordinarily had clear high voices. So it is a little surprising to find such *castrati*, to whom people rendered honor sometimes with almost hysterical fanaticism, ridiculed in the character of the eunuch, who is scolded, scoffed at, and eluded by the young ladies entrusted to his care. Whence his usual complaints about "the customs of the dames and damsels of today," resembling the occasional allusions of the *comici* to contemporary events and, like them, arousing general hilarity.

But such discussion of the comic characters, though perhaps obligatory, is not the most important argument in our comparison of *commedia dell' arte* and opera. Less evidently, but with more telling effect, the comedy exercised its influence on the whole of opera, especially on its musical form. The first Venetian operas—we refer to them because they are the best known—are still dominated by the recitative style. To be sure, they are not lacking in melody—sometimes very beautiful melody—but it always arises without a break from recitative, as, in an eloquent speech, there surges up at a given moment a rounder and more sonorous wave, which then falls again and dies off. For music is still ruled by the word, is adjusted to it, and tries to interpret, stress, and embellish it, without exceeding the function of an obedient and faithful servant. Somehow the spirit of Monteverdi's "seconda pratica" still lives even after the disappearance of the old hero, even though with that disappearance the last light of a nobler and higher dramatic conception is extinguished. Only about the middle of the 17th century does that

tendency appear which will give to opera its definitive form: a form in which the rules of music will supersede the literary text in a manner that no subsequent reform has been able to temper. It probably became evident for the first time in the work of Antonio Cesti—even in his first opera, *Orontea*, which, obtaining an extraordinary success in 1649, brought its author at once to sudden celebrity.<sup>36</sup> From now on the aria (that is, an autonomous and independent musical organism) will become the basic element of the operatic structure, while the recitatives will be considered only a connective element, necessary to the development of the plot, but secondary, even though not completely neglected, from the point of view of musical expression.

It is noticeable that *Orontea* is also one of the first operas to which we can give the name of a real comic opera, and that this quality allowed the new musical form to be attempted in it without opposition and even with the most considerable success. As a matter of fact, when the same experiment was applied the following year to a serious opera libretto, that of Cesti's *Alessandro vincitor di sè stesso*, the authors felt it could not be presented to the public without explanation. In the preface the librettist Francesco Sbarra writes:

I know that some people will consider the *ariette* sung by Alexander and Aristotle unfit for the dignity of such great characters; but I know also that it is not natural to speak in music, and nevertheless it is not only permitted but even accepted with praise. For today this kind of poetry has only the aim of pleasure; and therefore we need to adapt ourselves to the usage of our time. If the recitative style were not intermingled with such a kind of *scherzi*, it would give more annoyance than pleasure.<sup>37</sup>

In this way the establishment of the new form of opera, summoned by the spirit of comedy, is justified by the idea of musical hedonism.

Moreover the name of *scherzi* given by Sbarra to the *ariette* is only too similar to that of *lazzi*, employed by the *comici dell' arte*. And the

<sup>36</sup> See the second of the above-mentioned *Tre Capitoli su Cesti*, which were written for the performance of this opera in Siena in 1953 at the "X Settimana Musicale Senese." The *Orontea* is generally believed to be lost, but scores exist in Rome (S. Cecilia and Vatican), Parma, and Naples.

<sup>37</sup> See for the Italian text my *Tre Capitoli su Cesti*, p. 47. The music of the *Alessandro*, performed at Venice in 1651, is often attributed to Cavalli. From Sbarra's preface we learn that it was inspired by a performance of an opera (*Orontea* ?) in Lucca, in which Cesti himself participated. The libretto of *Alessandro* was written in a few days because the same (wandering) troupe had to leave for Venice where they were scheduled to perform it very soon. Cesti is the only musician named by Sbarra; no mention is made of Cavalli.

*lazzi* were not only the jokes and grimaces springing *extempore* from the vivid and spirited imagination of the players, but also some form of speech previously agreed upon, even if always susceptible of improvised additions or variations. And this name was also given to some pre-established scheme of monologue or dialogue which resembles actual "closed pieces," based on the effect of obstinate repetitions, or on intentional symmetries, or on periodic returns to a fundamental theme.<sup>38</sup> I do not intend to state that the musical forms were inspired by these "closed" monologues or dialogues; but I believe that their practice in the *commedia dell' arte* had already prepared the public for the acceptance of the closed musical forms in the opera.

Stylization and even mechanical repetition have always been among the most frequently employed means of gaining comic effect. So in the performance of the *commedia dell' arte* the rules of free invention and preestablished form, of realism and stylization, must have alternated in sharp contrast, and with sudden transition, much in the manner of the operatic alternation of recitatives and arias. On the other hand it will often happen in the history of opera that some given formal elements—as, for instance, the duets and the ensemble pieces, in which everyone is singing and nobody but the public is listening—are accepted in the serious opera only after having been used and generalized in the comic opera.

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To sum up, the analogies in the comic characters, in the type of plot, in the element of formal structure, are only partial features of a general analogy in conception. Over and above the episodic influences of the *commedia* on the opera, and the even more isolated suggestions of the opera to the *commedia*, their analogy is to be explained by the fact that they are both, by different means, the expression of the same society and of the same way of conceiving and realizing the theatrical spectacle. Nobody has ever undertaken a comparison between the *scenari* of the *commedia* and the subjects of operatic librettos, because the specialists in each one of these fields are usually scarcely interested in the other. But it would be easy to conclude that there is no essential difference between them, except that the operatic subjects embrace a narrower

<sup>38</sup> See Apollonio, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-63; also the examples of love dialogues and the chapter *Delle chiusette e dei versi* reproduced in Petraccone, *op. cit.*, from A. Perrucci's *Dell'arte rappresentativa, premeditata e all' improvviso*, Naples, 1699.

field than those of the *scenari*. But in both fields the same apparent variety of situations, of characters, and of surroundings is swallowed in a gloomy greyness because of the lack of artistic and logical coherency, because of the arbitrary blending of human and fantastic elements, because of the continuous demand for effect by means of extravagant features, or sudden transitions.

We may question what real importance such variety had, what value such intrigues had in which surprise abused became no surprise at all. Was not rather what attracted the public and aroused its enthusiasm the way of acting and animating the play completely entrusted to the ability of the performers? The opera scores, too, of the 17th century are only sketches or compendious drawings, the full realization of which was left open to the individual and collective creation of the performers. It was improvised and changed each time, according to the occasion and even to the inspiration of the moment. During this century and the greatest part of the next, we can say that no performance of an opera was ever like another. The history of opera always deals with a continuous modification, addition, or suppression of episodes and characters.

We can see then what was, either in the *commedia* or in the opera, the basic element of the spectacle: the players in the former, the singers in the latter. Of Pantalone, of Arlecchino, of Isabella, of Pulcinella only thin shadows remain; for their life was embodied in the flesh, in the appearance, in the breath of their interpreters. People liked to see them plunging into the strangest and most unexpected adventures and situations. Nevertheless they did not ask them to give to the characters the verisimilitude of a real merchant, gambler, or honest workman. They did ask them to be only and always Pulcinella, Arlecchino, Pantalone; they liked to recognize behind the most disparate camouflages, the voice, the figure, the particular way of acting and gesturing of the players by which the time identified each of those characters. Almost in the same way the worship of starring singers, born together with opera, made the operatic public ask not for a myth or for a historical description, but for the exhibition of the most admired singers, displaying in that myth or historical description the treasures of their voice. We must admit that in every age a very great majority of the public has gone to the opera house to hear Caccini and Peri rather than Orpheus; Farinello and Senesino rather than Attilio Regolo; even Tamagno and Chaliapin rather than Othello or Boris Godunof. The



whole history of opera has always been characterized by such a subordination to the singers, to their personality and capacity, even to their caprices.

Either about the *commedia dell' arte* or about the opera the attitude of the public was mainly that of an amused incredulity towards the fiction taking place on the stage. An incredulity that becomes patent in the *commedia* when the *comici* slip from their dialogue into a direct address from the player to the audience; and becomes patent in the opera by the break of the scenic illusion occurring when a storm of applause may interrupt a climactic scene, or induce a Dido returned to life to repeat her suicide. Besides such incredulity, nevertheless, a spirit of popular ingenuousness restored the player to the station of the ancient mime, and the singer to the primitive and almost barbaric prestige emanating from the fascinating suggestion of the singing voice.

This is by no means the most fortunate aspect of opera, of which in general our comparison with the *commedia dell' arte* did not underline the positive qualities—those qualities that often succeeded in turning to the advantage of art an unfavorable social condition. But a total judgment on opera was not the aim of this article. And we cannot rely either on too enthusiastic praise, or on indiscriminate blame, which almost always only mean lack of comprehension. A careful approach to the facts, in order to see them in their real essence, and to evaluate their condition and necessity, would be, I think, a better way to understanding and to dispassionate judgment.

## MUSICAL CULTURE OF THE ARAPAHO<sup>1</sup>

By BRUNO NETTL

AT one time it was thought that North American Indian music was rather homogeneous in style. Today, with increasing numbers of tribal and comparative studies, this illusion is gradually subsiding. We are now able to show definite differences among the musical styles of groups of tribes, of single tribes, and of different bodies of music within one tribe. We are able to define musical areas in which the music is comparatively homogeneous, and which coincide roughly with the areas of homogeneous culture at large.<sup>2</sup> However, considerable diversity is found even within single tribal repertoires. This study illustrates one such musical culture and the role that music plays in it. In dealing with most Indian cultures, the investigator is usually in the position of trying to reconstruct, from the materials given by contemporary informants, the culture as it may have been before it was influenced by Western civilization. Nevertheless, events of interest to the comparative musicologist have occurred since that time, often because of white man's influence, in Indian musical cultures. An attempt is made here to coordinate both historical levels, and to give some indications of the possibility of reconstructing the history of a primitive musical culture with the diverse musical materials.

The Arapaho Indians,<sup>3</sup> who today live mostly in Wyoming and Okla-

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an abstract of the writer's M.A. thesis, of the same title, accepted by the Graduate School of Indiana University, June 1951. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to George Herzog for guidance in the preparation of the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Nettl, *Stylistic Variety in North American Indian Music*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VI (1953), 160-68.

<sup>3</sup> This study is based on approximately 150 songs. About 40 were recorded by Z. Salzmänn in 1949 and transcribed by the writer. 50 were recorded by the writer in 1952 and transcribed. About 60 were found in various published sources, of which the most important is Densmore's *Cheyenne and Arapaho Music*, Los Angeles, 1936. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Zdenek Salzmänn for furnishing field notes about Arapaho musical culture, and to informant William Shakespeare for many hours of answering questions. Other information on the background of music was gained from many ethnological works, the most important being by A. L. Kroeber, G. A. Dorsey, James Mooney, and Clark Wissler.

homa, are typical of the tribes who in the past lived on the Great Plains, an area whose Indians are probably the best known because of their place in cowboy and other Western literary and film entertainment. They were a nomadic people (at least since receiving horses probably in the 16th century) who moved about in small bands to hunt buffalo, coming together only in the summer for their greatest religious ceremony, the Sun Dance. In general the culture stressed individualism. Religion was, for the most part, an individualistic experience, war parties were individual, not tribal affairs. In all these respects the Arapaho were similar to better-known tribes of the Plains, such as the Dakota, Cheyenne, Crow, and Blackfoot. Their location seems to have been in Colorado, surrounded by the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Pawnee, and Ute tribes. Music and dancing played a primary role in Arapaho life. All religious experience and ritual was dominated by music, social dancing abounded, and war songs and dances were essential before and after a war party.

Although most of the religious music was traditional—that is, nothing was known (by the Indians or investigators) about its origin—there was ample opportunity for the creative person to add to the musical repertory. At puberty or before a serious undertaking, a man was supposed to have a vision of a person or an animal. This vision was often conjured by starvation and self-torture, and, when obtained, the vision-being became the guardian of the visionary. The vision-being taught the visionary a small number (usually four, the ritual number) of songs and gave him some directions for future life. The songs usually remained identified with the visionary. Each self-respecting young man was supposed to have at least one vision; we can conclude, then, that a great proportion of the men composed some songs. This statement must be qualified, however, by saying that an old melody to which new words were added would be considered a new song. The visionary who created a song (i.e. learned a song in a vision) was often remembered for it until after his death.

Songs may be made up under other circumstances, however. Some war songs are of recent origin and their composers are known. Since war songs ordinarily deal with personal achievement in wars as recent as World War II, old melodies are often taken and adapted to new texts. Thus, after the return of some Indian soldiers after World War I, old melodies were given new texts which mentioned the defeat of Germany, for example:

“The German officer, while he was still looking around for me, I swung him around.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Text furnished by informant William Shakespeare, 1952.

The vision manner of composing songs is related to ideas of inspiration. A more technical approach is indicated by two methods given by an informant for composing songs of the Peyote cult, a recently introduced religion discussed below. A person may take a phrase from one song, another from the next, perhaps add some of his own, and add the traditional closing formula, and he has composed a new song. A second method is due to the basically isorhythmic construction of many Peyote songs. Each isorhythmic unit is lengthened by adding a note or two. It is possible that this custom of creating new material out of already existing songs causes the great homogeneity of some sub-styles within primitive tribal repertoires.

Most social dance songs are traditional, the composers unknown. It is interesting, however, that the Arapaho are aware that they learned certain dances (and probably the accompanying songs) from other tribes. Informants state, for instance, that the Round Dances were learned from the Gros Ventres Indians about sixty-five years ago, while the Rabbit Dance, danced in couples and very likely of European origin, was learned from the Cree Indians as recently as thirty-five years ago. The songs of the Wolf Dance were learned from the Dakota some seventy years ago. Whether the music of these dances was imported along with the dances themselves, or whether in some cases the music alone was imported, is not clear. Evidence points to the latter, because informants who made statements indicating this importation had forgotten the dances and performed only the songs. At any rate, the tribes from whom the dances were imported have music rather similar to that of the Arapaho so that it might be difficult to prove anything conclusive in this direction.

In other cases, however, the importation of special musical styles in the Arapaho repertory can be shown. This has been done by Herzog<sup>5</sup> in the case of the so-called Ghost Dance religion, which originated among the Paiutes of Nevada and spread rapidly among other tribes, especially those of the Great Plains, during the end of the 19th century. The musical result is a stratum of Ghost Dance songs in the Plains repertoires, including that of the Arapaho, which contrasts decisively with ordinary Plains music. Similar but not as striking findings have been made by McAllester<sup>6</sup> in connection with Peyote cult music; Peyote music also

<sup>5</sup> George Herzog, *Plains Ghost Dance and Great Basin Music*, in *American Anthropologist*, XXXVII (1935), 403-19.

<sup>6</sup> David P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, New York, 1949.

forms a special stratum in the tribal body of music, but is not so homogeneous through the various groups of tribes.

While the latter two religions are recent on the Plains and show definite traces of Christian teaching, they still reflect the primary significance of music in the religious life of the Arapaho. The Ghost Dance was largely manifested in dances that were supposed to bring back all the dead Indians and accomplish the overthrow of the whites. The Peyote cult, on the other hand, shows the Indians' resignation to their present status. Its ritual consists of eating the "buttons" of the slightly intoxicating Peyote cactus and singing songs throughout the night. Music is by far the most important aspect of this ceremony.

Music also functioned in the ceremonies of the Arapaho age-grade societies. Of these there were seven for the men and one for the women, and they had special functions in war and other ceremonies. Music was used in the initiation ceremonies, and special instruments were used by some of the societies in battle. Songs in tales, children's songs, lullabies, songs sung while playing gambling games, and love songs round out the repertory of functions of music. Love songs are intimately connected with flute playing, an art whose products are not found in any collection but some of whose melodies were, according to informants, given texts and made into love songs.

It is of interest that some Arapaho melodies were also recorded among other tribes, for example the Cheyenne and the Dakota. This is the case with the recently diffused Peyote songs as well as with more traditional material. This shows the stability of the songs and illustrates exchange of musical materials, which must have gone on for centuries.

The general characteristics of Arapaho music approximate those of other Great Plains tribes. Downward melodic movement predominates, intervals tend to be large, there is strong pulsation on the long tones and much vocal tension in the singing. All music is vocal, with the exception of the flute melodies. All of the music is monophonic with the following possible exception: In two Wolf Dance songs transcribed, the opening phrase is initiated by a solo singer and repeated by the group, which overlaps slightly the first rendition. The overlap, however, occurs on the same pitch, so that no harmonic interval is heard. Each song is repeated several times in a rendition. Almost all songs are accompanied by one drum; the only other instruments are various types of rattles used in Peyote songs and in the songs of some of the age-grade societies.

There is no rhythmic polyphony between the different percussion

instruments, if more than one is used, but the percussion rhythm may not always be the same as the melodic rhythm. Rather common would be a hemiole type of effect, three beats in the melody equal to two of the drum. The rhythm of the vocal part is usually non-metric and rather unstable, but punctuated by the pulsations. In a few songs, stable duple or triple meter is observed except for the cadence, where lengthening of units is typical. The number of distinct note values in a song is typically about four, and there is considerable contrast among them.

The melody of most songs is dominated by a terrace-shaped contour. Most phrases descend, but begin higher than the end of the previous phrase. The range is relatively large, usually an octave or larger. The scales are composed largely of major seconds, minor thirds, and perfect fourths. Most of the intervals are close to the tempered Western ones. About 40% of the scales are tetratonic, and an equal number pentatonic. The rest have three, six, or seven tones. Two main types of tone distribution in the scales are found: 1) the tones are spaced about equally throughout the range, and 2) the tones are clustered at one end of the octave and are balanced by a large interval. These types have approximately equal proportions of the repertory.

The over-all forms of the Arapaho songs tend to be binary. A song is likely to consist of two long sections, one a variation of the other. This is true for all types except the Ghost Dance songs, and may be due to the peculiar text structure. In the binary form, the first portion is occupied by meaningless syllables, and the variation contains the meaningful text. A great many Arapaho songs have only meaningless texts, however. The problem of texts in relation to music has been discussed by the writer.<sup>7</sup>

Underneath this general homogeneity there is some variety in the songs as grouped by their functions. The Wolf Dance songs, for example, appear in "suites" of four, two slow and two fast. They can be recognized by the fact that there is a pause before the last phrase in each song. The Sun Dance songs are distinguished by their larger range (average of a twelfth). The Rabbit Dance songs usually begin with a perfect fourth descending. The Round Dance songs have a relatively smaller range than most others. They tend to be isometric and have subdivisions of equal length. They are usually in 6/8 meter. All of these groups, however, are in the general Arapaho style. Some other groups diverge from this to a greater extent.

The lullabies, children's songs, and songs in tales are much simpler.

<sup>7</sup> Bruno Nettl, *Text-Music Relations in Arapaho Songs*, in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, X (1954), 192-99.

They have small ranges (about a fifth), scales of two or three tones, and simple repetitive forms. The Peyote songs are distinguished by usually having hexatonic scales, only two note-values (quarter and eighth notes), and being sung in a more relaxed, non-pulsating style. They have a cadential formula, four long notes on the tonic, with the meaningless syllables "he ne yo we." The Ghost Dance songs are also sung in a relaxed manner. They tend to have ranges smaller than an octave. Their chief distinguishing feature is the paired-phrase pattern, described by Herzog, in which each phrase is repeated. Typical Ghost-Dance song forms are AABB and AABBC.

If one combines the musical information with what is known of the history of Arapaho culture and of the distribution of musical styles in other areas of North America, it is possible to identify tentatively several layers of music in the Arapaho repertory which may have historical significance. The history of Arapaho music is tentatively reconstructed as follows:

- 1) A group of very simple songs, lullabies, songs in tales, and others in their style. This type is found in many parts of the continent and is usually associated with these functions. It is probably the earliest layer in the present Arapaho repertory.
- 2) The songs of the Sun Dance, the age-grade societies, and the Wolf Dance. These are in the general Arapaho style and correspond roughly to the music of the surrounding tribes, particularly those of the Eastern Plains with whom the Arapaho presumably had more contact before the advent of the horse. These songs are distinguished from the following category mostly by their large range and rhythmic complexity.
- 3) Songs of the Rabbit, Round, Owl, and Snake Dances. These are also in the general Plains style, but tend to be rhythmically more regular and somewhat simpler than category 2. The reason for assuming them to be later additions to the repertory is the ability of informants to identify their origin. Most of them seem to have been imported from tribes further north (Cree, Dakota, Gros Ventres).
- 4) The Peyote style, imported along with the cult after the middle of the 19th century. Its origin may be the Southwest.
- 5) The Ghost Dance style, imported around 1890. Its origin is evidently the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada.
- 6) Western popular songs, which now exist in the Arapaho repertory along with the Indian songs. They seem to have had little influence on, and have been untouched by, the Indian styles.

This survey of Arapaho musical culture should show Indian music not as a part of the primeval forest of the origins of music, but as a



musical culture somewhat similar to the Western, one that has constantly added features and styles and has had a long history and complex development.

Wolf Dance Song  
(men) (women enter)  
Drum etc. *poco accel.*

Rabbit Dance Song  
(men and women)  
Drum etc.

Sun Dance Song  
(men) (women enter)  
Drum Fine  
dal segno al fine

Round Dance Song  
(men and women)  
Drum etc.

Soldiers' Song  
(men and women)  
Drum P P P etc.

Peyote Cult Song  
(men only)  
Drum and Rattle sharp flat slightly short pulsation indefinite pitch  
Symbols

## ON THE PITCHES IN USE IN BACH'S TIME — I

By ARTHUR MENDEL

IN an earlier series of articles,<sup>1</sup> I tried to organize what little is known about the history of pitch from the earliest data we have, in 1511, through those furnished us by Praetorius in 1619. My interest in this subject originated in an attempt to understand the pitch situation in the works of Bach, where one needs such an understanding for the solution of various problems of performance practice and of chronology. But in order to be sure one understands the situation in Bach's time, one has to learn not only how that situation had come about, but what happened afterwards, so that one can account for the differences between the states of pitch in Bach's day and in our own.

The earliest actual measurements of pitch in vibration frequencies by methods that we can be sure were reasonably accurate were reported in 1834 in Scheibler's *Physikalische und musikalische Tonmesser*. From this date on we have fairly plentiful and reliable data. The present article, then, seeks to bridge the gap between 1619 and 1834. As in the earlier articles, attention is focused on Germany, because my chief purpose in studying this whole question has been to understand its bearing on the works of Bach. But there are some connections with developments in France and Italy, and if my conclusions are valid the framework they provide may be useful for comparison with data from other countries.

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It is hard for the modern musician to put himself into the frame of mind in which the musician of the 18th century thought about pitch.

<sup>1</sup> *Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries*, in *The Musical Quarterly* for January, April, July, and October, 1948, and *Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600*, in *Acta Musicologica* for 1949. It has seemed best to assume that the reader has not read these articles. Those who are familiar with their contents will forgive, I hope, the repetition of certain explanations already given there.

We are so used to devices like tuning-forks for establishing pitch, and to thinking in terms of vibration-frequencies, that it is hard to remember that no such devices were common in Bach's day, and that talk of vibration-frequencies was indulged in only by theorists and scientists. Scientific jargon had not yet become common among laymen, and few musicians of the 18th century had any notion of the frequencies attached to various pitches. Accordingly, even among those 18th-century writers on music who discuss pitch, there is virtually no mention of frequencies. They simply compare the pitch of one place with that of another, assuming that their readers are familiar with one of the pitches compared.

The only direct evidence we could have of the pitches Bach used has disappeared. Such evidence could be supplied only if we had any instruments of fixed pitch whose connection with Bach was certain. But we have no such instruments.<sup>2</sup> Most of the organs he used were replaced before anyone thought of measuring their pitch. In Hamburg and Dresden three organs that Bach had played on survived, and we have pitch-measurements for them dating from the middle of the 19th century. But even if we could be sure that their pitch had not been altered since Bach's day, they would not tell us what we want to know, since he wrote no music for these organs. And no other fixed-pitch instruments used by Bach are known to survive.<sup>3</sup>

So we must fall back on circumstantial evidence. This can never determine with as much certainty as if Bach had left us a tuning-fork just what pitch was used in any given work. (We do not know whether he ever saw a tuning-fork.) But we may be able to arrive at certain conclusions, nevertheless, by putting together the circumstantial evidence we have.

First of all we must keep clearly in mind the fact that pitch varied, at a given date, from town to town, and even from church to church within the same town.

As late as 1783, we read in the second edition of Adlung's *Anleitung zur musicalischen Gelahrtheit*:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> But see Part II.

<sup>3</sup> Oboes and bassoons of the period survive, but without their reeds. Flutes, trumpets, horns, and trombones would help us if we knew in connection with any particular surviving instruments just when and where they had been used, and which of the several pitch "standards" they had represented. But we lack any such specific data.

<sup>4</sup> The passage had appeared in identical form also in the first edition, Erfurt, 1758, from which (p. 315) this excerpt is quoted.

Es ist bekannt, dass die Orgeln nicht überein sind, so, dass der Musikant nebst seiner Trompete stets etliche Aufsätze muss in der Ficke tragen, wenn er in mehrern Kirchen darauf blasen soll; so auch mit dem Waldhorn; aber wie kömmt man zu rechte mit den Flöten, Hautbois, Clarinetten, und dergleichen? Man wünschet deswegen nicht unbillig, dass die Orgelmacher hierinnen einig wären, und dass sie eine gewisse Regel haben möchten, nach welcher sie einerley Tiefe und Höhe zu finden im Stande wären. Aber hieran fehlt es bis ietzo. Denn was Sauveur<sup>5</sup> vorgeschlagen, ist noch nicht zum Stande kommen.

It is well known that organs do not agree, so that the musician must always carry with him in addition to his trumpet several crooks, if he wishes to play in various churches; and the same is true of the Waldhorn; but how is one to make the adjustment on flutes, oboes, clarinets, and so on? One wishes not without reason that organ-builders were agreed in this matter, and that they would have a certain rule which would enable them to arrive at the same depth and height. For what Sauveur<sup>5</sup> suggested has not yet come to pass.

Quantz, in 1752, had answered Adlung's question about the flute:

In den alten Zeiten bestund die Flöte traversiere nur aus einem Stücke . . . Als aber in Frankreich die eine Klappe hinzugefüget wurde, um die Flöte, so wie andere Instrumente, zur Musik brauchbarer zu machen, so bekam diese Flöte zugleich, nicht nur von aussen eine bessere Gestalt; sondern sie wurde auch, um mehrerer Bequemlichkeit Willen, in drey Stücken getheilet, nämlich: ein Kopfstück, worinnen sich das Mundloch befindet; ein Mittelstück mit sechs Löchern; und das Füssgen, woran die Klappe zu finden ist. Diese drey Stücken würden auch zulänglich gewesen seyn: wenn man aller Orten einerley Stimmung hätte. Weil aber der Ton, nach welchem man stimmt, so sehr verschieden ist; dass nicht nur in einem jeden Lande, sondern auch mehrentheils in einer jeden Provinz und Stadt, eine andere Stimmung, oder herrschender

In olden times, the transverse flute was built in one piece . . . But when in France the one key was added, to make the flute more usable, like other instruments, for concerted music, this flute was not only improved in external form, but it was also, for the sake of greater convenience, divided into three pieces, namely: a head, in which the mouth-hole is located; a middle section with six holes; and the foot, on which the key is to be found. And these three pieces would have been sufficient if the pitch had been everywhere the same. But since the pitch used for tuning varies so much, so that not only in each country but also frequently in each province or city a different pitch is used—not to mention that the harpsichord in one and the same place is pitched by careless tuners now high and now low—the flute was provided about thirty years

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Sauveur had proposed the adoption of a standard pitch, measured in vibration-frequencies. See the *Histoire* and the *Mémoires* of the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, Paris, for the years 1700, 1701, 1702, 1707, 1711, and 1713; and see footnote 53.

Ton eingeföhret ist; zugeschweigen, das der Clavicymbal, an eben demselben Orte, durch unachtsame Stimmer, bald hoch, bald tief gestimmt wird: so hat man, vor ohngefähr dreyssig Jahren, die Flöte mit mehrern Mittelstücken versehen. Man hat zu dem Ende das lange Mittelstück, mit sechs Löchern, in zween Theile getheilet; um die Flöte bequemer bey sich tragen zu können: und anstatt eines, und zwar des obersten Stückes von diesen zween Theilen, hat man zwey bis drey verfertigt, welche, weil immer eines kürzer als das andere seyn muss, sich damals ohngefähr um einen halben Ton von einander unterschieden; . . .<sup>6</sup>

ago [i.e., about 1720] with several middle-sections. For this purpose, the long middle section, containing six holes, was divided into two parts, to make the flute easier to carry; and of the upper of these two parts not just one was built, but two or three, which, one being shorter than another, differed from one another by about a half-tone; . . .<sup>6</sup>

Half a century earlier, Bontempi<sup>7</sup> had explained that the organs of St. Mark's were pitched a tone higher than those of the other churches of Venice.

One must therefore be wary of all such expressions as "18th-century pitch," or "Italian pitch," or even "Bach's pitch." The only definite knowledge one can hope to gain about pitch before about 1830 will apply only to a particular work or body of works written for a particular place within a particular period of time.

Musicians of Bach's time had two principal terms for identifying pitch-standards: *Cammer-Ton* (chamber pitch) and *Chor-Ton* (choir pitch). In modern German, *Kammerton* means "the pitch standard" or even "the standard (present-day) pitch." Of course *Cammer-Ton* could not have any such meaning in Bach's time, when there was no "standard pitch," and there were many pitch "standards." Unfortunately, the identity of the word has led many modern writers on the subject into considering *Cammer-Ton* the "real" pitch and *Chor-Ton* a transposition of it.<sup>8</sup> But that was not at all the way Bach thought, as we shall see.

<sup>6</sup> Quantz goes on to say that even this provision did not make sufficiently accurate tuning possible, and that therefore the number of alternative middle sections was later increased, and the difference in pitch between them correspondingly decreased. *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 3. Auflage, Breslau, 1789 (identical in first edition of 1752), pp. 25-26.

<sup>7</sup> *Historia musica*, Perugia, 1695, p. 188.

<sup>8</sup> To avoid such confusion, in this article I use the old spelling *Cammer-Ton* for the old term.

For him there was no necessary connection between notation and any absolute pitch. The same note-names were applied to different pitches on different instruments, and none of the implied standards was any more "real" than another.<sup>9</sup>

*Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* did not indicate absolute pitch standards as fixed as our  $a^1 = 440$ ; but they did at least name the higher and lower of the two pitches regularly in use in any given place, and in that meaning they had not changed since Praetorius and did not change throughout the 18th century.

Praetorius in 1619 had said that *Chor-Ton* was a major second above *Cammer-Ton*. This, at least, was the way the terms were generally used in Germany in his time. In Prague, he pointed out, and at various other Catholic courts, the usage was inverted: *Cammer-Ton* there was used for the higher and *Chor-Ton* for the lower of the two pitches. Praetorius thought this the better scheme, and recommended its adoption. As late as 1701, the Prague organist Janowka, in his *Clavis ad Thesaurum Magnae Artis Musicae*, speaks of two prevailing pitches a tone apart, and calls the lower one *Chor-Thon*.<sup>10</sup>

But in Germany, despite Praetorius's attempt to change the old usage of calling *Chor-Ton* the higher, that usage persisted for two hundred years more.

<sup>9</sup> The discussions of *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* by Smend, Schering, Krause, Ruetz, Terry, and even Spitta sooner or later get caught in this trap, and must therefore be read with caution. Of this as of so many other questions, Spitta had on the whole a clearer understanding than most of those who came after him, but even he occasionally falls into the "real pitch" error. The only ones I know who entirely avoid it are J. F. Ohl in his unpublished dissertation, *The Orchestration of Bach's Vocal Works*, Harvard, 1944, and Alfred Dürr in his invaluable *Studien über die frühen Kantaten J. S. Bachs*, Leipzig, 1951. The present article was drafted before Dr. Dürr's book appeared, but I have thoroughly revised it in the light of his research, as described both in his book and in private correspondence. It will not be possible to acknowledge more than a few of the many things this article owes to Dr. Dürr.

<sup>10</sup> But Janowka's terminology does not correspond to any other known to me, for he calls the higher one *Zinck-thon*—not *Cammer-Thon*, the term Praetorius had ascribed to Prague usage for the higher pitch. This higher pitch Janowka calls the pitch of German or Bohemian organs; according to him, the French and Italian organs were one tone lower. As has been shown, however, any such generalizations are without foundation. Janowka's remarks are to be found in his articles on FAGOTHUM, FLETNA, and ORGANUM.

Bach's friend J. G. Walther, in 1732,<sup>11</sup> defined *Cammer-Ton* as follows:

Cammer-Ton heisset; wenn ein musicalisches Stück nicht nach dem alten Chor- oder Cornet-Tone sondern hauptsächlich um der erwachsenen Sopranisten, so die Höhe nicht wohl haben können; und so dann, um der Instrumente willen, und damit die Saiten desto besser halten mögen, entweder um einen gantzen Ton oder gar um eine kleine Terz tieffer executirt wird.

Chamber pitch means: when a piece of concerted music is performed not at the old Choir or Cornet Pitch, but rather, mainly on account of the adult [male] sopranos, who cannot well sing in the highest range, and also for the sake of the instruments so that the strings may hold better, a whole tone or even a minor third lower.

Mattheson, in 1713,<sup>12</sup> says:

Ob nun/oder warum dieser oder jener Thon/a, oder b Cammer- Chor- oder Opern-Thon heist / daran liegt im Grunde nichts. Der Chor-Thon ist 9 bis 14 Commata höher als der Opern- und Cammer-Thon.

Now, whether and why this or that tone is called a or b, Chamber, Choir, or Opera Pitch—this is basically of no consequence. Choir Pitch is 9 to 14 commas [i.e. a major second to a minor third] higher than opera or chamber pitch.

Kuhnau, in a letter to Mattheson dated December 8, 1717,<sup>13</sup> writes: . . . Almost from the moment when I took over the direction of the church music, I did away with *Cornet-Ton*, and introduced *Cammer-Ton*, which is a second or a minor third lower, according to circumstances . . .

Adlung, fifty years later,<sup>14</sup> says:

Organs are tuned to *Chor-Ton*, as it is called now, which is 1 or 1½ tones higher than *Cammer-Ton* . . . In some places *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* are one tone apart; in others, a tone and a half.

A half-tone lower than Leipzig *Cammer-Ton* was what Bach called<sup>15</sup> "*tief Cammerthon*" (low chamber pitch).

We have, then, apparently three or four pitches spread over a total

<sup>11</sup> In his *Musicalisches Lexicon*. Under *RAMARINUS*, Walther may seem to use "*Chor-Ton*" for the pitch of Rome, and to indicate that it is not the highest pitch in use there. But here he is paraphrasing Kircher (*Musurgia Universalis*, Rome, 1650) who says "Roman music" uses what is called "*tonus Chorista*," and Walther simply renders this phrase by its German cognate *Chor-Ton*.

<sup>12</sup> *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Hamburg, 1713, p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Mattheson's *Critica musica*, Hamburg, 1722-25, II, 235-36.

<sup>14</sup> *Musica Mechanica Organoedi*, Berlin, 1768, II, 55; I, 194.

<sup>15</sup> In Cantata 194, *Höchst erwünschtes Freudenfest*. The pitch of this cantata will be discussed below.



distance of about a third. I list them here from the highest to the lowest:

*Cornet-Ton*,<sup>16</sup> apparently the same as  
*Chor-Ton*, a major second higher than  
*Cammer-Ton*, a minor second higher than  
*Tief Cammer-Ton*

The whole system is similar to that involved in our system of transposing instruments (which is a relic of it), except that there was no fixed standard, like our  $a^1 = 440$ , to determine which instruments were "in C" and which were "transposing."

We have a perfect example of this ambiguity in one of the earliest surviving Bach cantatas, No. 71, *Gott ist mein König*, written for a civic festivity in Mühlhausen on February 4, 1708. In this work as in no other cantata by Bach the circumstantial evidence is complete. The surviving material includes (1) an autograph score, (2) the original manuscript performing parts, most of which are also autograph, and (3) a set of printed performing parts, the only surviving publication of any Bach choral or orchestral work issued in his lifetime. The work is dated, both in Bach's handwriting on the score and in print on the title-page of the parts.

The score divides the performers into several groups:

- (1) 3 trumpets and timpani
- (2) 2 violins, viola, and bass viol
- (3) 2 oboes and bassoon
- (4) 2 recorders and violoncello
- (5) 4 solo voices and 4 choral parts
- (6) organ

The first page of the autograph score, showing this grouping, is reproduced opposite p. 344.<sup>17</sup> From it we see that two of the six groups

<sup>16</sup> A good deal of the confusion in this question has arisen from incorrect inferences from Spitta's statement in a footnote (I, 380) that *Cornet-Ton* was a minor third higher than *Cammer-Ton*. Terry took this up (*Bach's Orchestra*, p. 155) and modern German writers have tended to accept the idea that *Cammer-Ton* was a standard, with *Chor-Ton* a major second above it, and *Cornet-Ton* a semitone higher still. There seems no real reason to think that this is true. But see footnote 68.

<sup>17</sup> And in Rudolph Steglich's *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Potsdam, 1935, p. 9; on pp. 10-11 and 129, Steglich also reproduces a few pages from the original printed parts; and some pages from the autograph score are reproduced in *Jahrgang 44* of *BG*.

For the opportunity to study microfilms of the original materials of many Bach works, and for help in answering questions about these materials (concerning water-

(the oboes and bassoon, and the recorders and violoncello) are written in D major, and the rest in C major.

The strings (except the violoncello), the trumpets and timpani, and the voices all performed at *Chor-Ton*, the pitch of the organ, and the other instruments, being from this point of view "instruments in B $\flat$ ," had to have their parts written a tone higher, as B $\flat$  clarinets do today. Or, to put it another way, the oboes, bassoon, recorders, and violoncello were at *Cammer-Ton*, and the trumpets, timpani, strings, voices, and organ were from the *Cammer-Ton* point of view "in D," and had to have their parts written a tone lower.<sup>18</sup>

But what key is the work "really" in? If by that question we mean what was the vibration-frequency of its "C" or its "D," there is of course nothing in the original score and parts to tell us directly. The answer must wait at least until we have examined other works of this and other periods in Bach's life. If we mean "In what key did Bach 'really' think this work?" the answer can only be "in 'C'"<sup>19</sup> for some of the performers and in 'D' for the others." In *BG* the "D" parts are transposed down a tone so as to present the whole work in "C." But this takes the recorders down to "c $\flat$ <sup>1</sup>," which is below the lower limit of their compass, and otherwise misrepresents the technique of the woodwind instruments as Bach used them.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, to have printed the whole work in "D" would equally have misrepresented it, because it would have changed the fingering of the string instruments, and the relative positions of their open strings.

We can illustrate this point more strikingly in another work, Cantata 161, *Komm, du süsse Todesstunde*. For this work, apparently, no original material survives. *BG* mentions only three manuscript scores, none in

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marks, etc.) that could not be answered from the films alone, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Rudolf von Reibnitz, of the University Library in Tübingen, to Dr. Martin Cremer, of the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg, and above all to Dr. Wilhelm Virneisel, of the music department of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

<sup>18</sup> In the definitions given by various authorities we see how their points of view differed. Walther, Kuhnau, and Adlung (cf. footnote 69), all church organists, thought in terms of *Chor-Ton*, and defined *Cammer-Ton* in those terms. Mattheson, an opera man, thought in terms of *Opern-* and *Cammer-Ton*, and defined *Chor-Ton* as so and so far above them. (Adlung, in the *Mus. Mech. Org.*, writes now from the one point of view, now from the other.)

<sup>19</sup> Throughout this article, where a pitch- or key-name is used without our knowing just what frequency it stands for, the name appears in quotation marks.

<sup>20</sup> I.e., it changes their fingering, particularly important where trills are concerned, and in some cases their intonation.

Bach's hand. But the cantata probably dates from 1715, as indicated by an elaborate chain of circumstantial evidence which we need not trace here.<sup>21</sup> We need only mention that one of the links in that chain consists in the fact that one of the manuscript scores notates the recorders a minor third higher than the strings, voices, and organ, and this interval of a minor third between *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* is characteristic of several works that apparently date from the latter part of the Weimar period (1714-16). *BG* prints this work as it appears in the oldest of the three copies, with the recorders in "E $\flat$ " and the rest of the instruments and voices in "C." Which is the "real" key? Well, the recorders could not play it in "C"; it contains notes that would lie below their compass. On the other hand, it contains the following bit of "tone-painting":

Ex. 1

Recorders

Vinsl & II  
-Vlas. pizz.

Alto Solo

Organ  
& Continuo

so schlage doch, schlage doch, du letz-ter Stunden-schlag so

schlage doch, schlage doch, schlage doch, du letz-ter Stunden-schlag.<sup>22</sup>

Now if the strings were to be transposed to "E $\flat$ ," they would not produce the bell-imitation for which Bach chose, for the four final chords, the four open strings of the violins and violas.

<sup>21</sup> See Spitta I, 541 ff.; II, 548, 834 f.; also Dürr, *Studien*, 55.

<sup>22</sup> "So toll, then, thou stroke of the final hour."

If we decide what the "real" key is on the basis of what key is chosen for the majority of instruments, we must note that in both these works, one dating from Mühlhausen and one dating from Weimar, the majority of the instruments are notated in the same key as the organ. So are the voices. In Mühlhausen and Weimar, then, the pitch for the organ, trumpets, strings, and voices was *Chor-Ton*, while the woodwinds played at *Cammer-Ton*.

In Mühlhausen, *Cammer-Ton* was a major second below *Chor-Ton*, as we see from Cantata 71—and also from Cantata 131, of which the autograph score is dated 1707 and contains the oboe and bassoon notated in A minor and the strings, voices, and continuo in G minor. Cantata 106 probably dates from the Mühlhausen period, too, and follows the same pattern (recorders notated in F; strings, voices, and continuo in E $\flat$ ).<sup>23</sup> Cantatas 196 and 4 were perhaps also composed in Mühlhausen, but since neither employs any woodwind instruments neither would shed any further light on this question even if the Mühlhausen manuscripts survived, as they do not.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The earliest source for this cantata dates from after Bach's death; but it is doubtless a faithful copy, direct or indirect, of Bach's original.

<sup>24</sup> I purposely leave out of consideration Cantata 15.

All the surviving original materials of this cantata date from Leipzig, and reflect Bach's Leipzig performing practices, not earlier ones. Spitta attributed most of this cantata to the year 1703 in Arnstadt. Jauernig (*Johann Sebastian Bach in Weimar*, in *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen*, edited by Besseler and Kraft, Weimar, 1950, p. 91) shows that it could have been written for Weimar in that year, though Karl Müller (*J. S. B. in Arnstadt*, *ibid.*, p. 38) well asks why Bach should have written a cantata in his first weeks in Weimar, where he was presumably engaged only as a violinist, and would probably have been treading on the Court Organist's or Capellmeister's toes by presenting a work of his own composition.

It is strange that with all the ink that has been spilled concerning the authenticity of many works attributed to Bach, no one seems to have questioned his authorship of this poor little one. It bears little resemblance to any other Bach work, and specifically to any early Bach work. In expressive power, it is far behind the *Capriccio* on the departure of Bach's brother, written in 1704. Its poor prosody, its use of fanfares in connection with words to which they are not appropriate, its lack of any fugal devices throughout its long course—these are all unlike Bach's style in any well authenticated work.

The sources for this work are a score in Bach's handwriting and a set of performing parts wrongly stated by Hauptmann and Spitta to be also in Bach's hand, but actually not containing any of Bach's handwriting except possibly in a figured continuo part. All these manuscripts date from the 1730's.

Why should Bach have copied for performance—thirty years later and without any change—a work that, if it were by him, would certainly belong to his immaturity? There seems no satisfactory answer to this question.

In Weimar, the same difference of only a major second between *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* sometimes obtained. Among the original manuscripts bearing Weimar watermarks, we find the oboe written a tone higher than the strings, voices, continuo and any other instruments in Cantatas 172, 21, and 199.<sup>25</sup>

But at other times in Weimar the difference between *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton* was a minor third. We have seen this exemplified in Cantata 161, and it is also evidenced by the Weimar material of Cantatas 182, 152, 31, 185, and 132 (?), and implied by the bassoon line in the scores of Cantatas 150 and 155, and by the oboe da caccia line in Cantata 186.

The question then arises: Was *Chor-Ton* a constant pitch, and did *Cammer-Ton* vary, being sometimes a major second and sometimes a minor third lower? Or was it *Cammer-Ton* that was constant, with *Chor-Ton* sometimes a major second and sometimes a minor third above it?

The notated ranges of the voices in Cantata 131 are definitely lower than in Cantata 71. This might indicate that it was written for a higher pitch. The original title-page of Cantata 71 states that the work was

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But there is no compelling authority for attributing this work to J. S. Bach anyway. The parts have no original title-page, so the name of Bach does not appear on them. The title-page of the score, in Bach's hand, reads: "Feria Ima Paschatos/Denn du wirst meine Seele [nicht]/ à/ 4 Voci/ 3 Trombe/ Tamburi/ 2 Violini/ Viola/ e/ Continuo/ di/ Bach"; and the caption at the top of the first page reads: "J. [?] Feria I Paschatos Concert a 3 Trombe Tamburi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci e Cont: Bach." Whichever Bach this means, I think it is improbable that it means Johann Sebastian.

Dr. Dürr writes me that J. S. Bach's initials are missing also in the captions of the autograph scores of Cantatas 14 and 36, and of the G minor Clavier Concerto (BWV1058). Might not Bach have taken particular pains, he says, to mention the initials of the composer, if the work were not his own? Perhaps. But I do not claim that the absence of initials proves that the work is not his; only that nothing proves that it is his, and the internal evidence of the music is against it.

<sup>25</sup> The bassoon part for Cantata 21, bearing, according to Dr. Dürr, the watermark DH (PH?), the date and origin of which are unknown to me, is notated like the oboe, a tone higher than the other parts. For Cantatas 172 and 199, the Weimar bassoon parts are notated in *Chor-Ton*, the same key as the other parts except oboe. In Cantata 18, the recorders are written a tone higher than the other parts, but the chronological relations among all these parts are not yet clear. It seems likely that the cantata was originally orchestrated for four violas and continuo, in *Chor-Ton*, and that on a later occasion two *Cammer-Ton* recorders were either added to this complement or substituted for Violas I and II. Schering's report of the existence of an F-minor continuo for this work (*Johann Sebastian Bach's Leipziger Kirchenmusik*, p. 117) is an error.

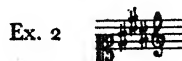
performed at the Marien-Kirche in Mühlhausen. But Bach was organist not of that church but of the Blasius-Kirche, and probably Cantata 131 was written for the latter. Did the pitch of the two organs differ? Possibly; but these two cantatas alone—the ones we can with certainty attribute to Mühlhausen—do not offer sufficient evidence to answer this question. At any rate, since the difference between the *Chor-Ton* and the *Cammer-Ton* instruments is in both cantatas a major second, we can observe in passing that if the *Chor-Ton* of the two organs varied, then so did the *Cammer-Ton* of the oboes and bassoons used in the two churches.

No other works attributable to the Mühlhausen or Weimar periods supply any evidence bearing on the relations of *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton*.

In Cöthen Bach wrote, as Smend has shown,<sup>26</sup> more choral music than we used to think, but of the dozen or so cantatas Smend attributes to this period only two survive complete in what is doubtless their original form: Cantata 173a, *Durchlauchtster Leopold*, and Cantata 202, *Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten*, and the latter only in a copy made by Johannes Ringk, a pupil of a "disciple" of Bach's, in 1730. In both works all instruments and voices are notated in the same key. Since in Cöthen the emphasis was strongly on secular music, we should expect the prevailing pitch to have been some form of *Cammer-Ton*.

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In Leipzig, where Bach went from Cöthen in 1723 and remained for the rest of his life, a difference of a minor third between *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton*, as in Weimar, had formerly obtained. Spitta<sup>27</sup> describes the surviving original performing material of Kuhnau's Christmas cantata *Nicht nur allein am frohen Morgen*, in which the organ part is notated in A major, and the strings likewise—i.e., the strings tuned to the organ pitch, *Chor-Ton*, as in Weimar and Mühlhausen. The violin parts, however, were intended for the oboes to play from, too, and they bear the double signature



<sup>26</sup> Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen*, Berlin, n.d. [1951?].

<sup>27</sup> II, 771 f.

—meaning that the violins should read the notes in the soprano clef, with the three-sharp signature, and the oboes should read the same notes in the G clef, without signature, which would make the oboe notation a minor third higher than the string notation, just as in the Weimar Cantata 161.

Spitta mentions several other Kuhnau cantatas in which the strings and organ are notated in the same key—i.e., the strings tuned to *Chor-Ton*. For example, for a Pentecost Cantata, Kuhnau wrote the following explanation:

1. NB. This piece is to be played at *Chor-Ton* in the strings, voices, and continuo, in B $\flat$ .
2. The Trumpets are written in C. So the Trumpets must add an insert to the mouthpiece so that the Trumpets sound a tone lower, at *Cammer-Ton*, and the kettle-drums must also be tuned down a tone, to *Cammer-Ton*.
3. The *Hautbois* and *Bassons* must be at *Cammer-Ton*, and their parts have been copied out transposed up one tone [i.e., to C, like the Trumpets], so that in this way everything will agree.

Here, as in Bach's M $\ddot{u}$ hlhausen cantata, No. 71, only a major second separates *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton*; but Kuhnau treats the trumpets and drums, as well as the woodwinds, as *Cammer-Ton* instruments.

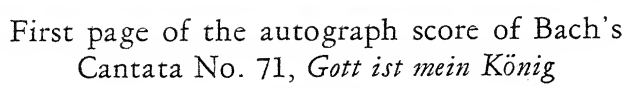
In Bach's Leipzig practice he normally treated the trumpets and drums as *Chor-Ton* instruments, and wrote for them in the same key as for the organ, just as he had in M $\ddot{u}$ hlhausen. Terry's statement<sup>28</sup> that in Leipzig Bach "preferred the trumpet in D," while before that he had "exclusively employed the tromba in C" is based on the misunderstanding referred to above, through which *Cammer-Ton* is taken as the "standard pitch," and everything is measured by that "standard."<sup>29</sup> How mistaken that attitude is we see from the two Kuhnau cantatas previously mentioned. In one of them *Cammer-Ton* was a minor third below *Chor-Ton*; in the other only a major second. And if both were accompanied on the same organs—the *Rück-Positive* of the Thomas-Kirche and the Nikolai-Kirche (the pitch was about the same in the two churches<sup>30</sup>)—it seems that in Kuhnau's practice it was *Cammer-Ton* that varied.

<sup>28</sup> *Bach's Orchestra*, London, 1932, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> It is also inaccurate, even from Terry's own mistaken point of view. If *Cammer-Ton* is taken as the standard, then the trumpets in Cantatas 71, 172, and 21 are "in D" and those in Cantata 31 are "in E $\flat$ ."

<sup>30</sup> Contrary to the opinion stated by Hauptmann in the preface to *BG I*, but long since proved mistaken.





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But Kuhnau did not like the practice of tuning the violins to the high pitch of the organ (even though he followed it in the two cantatas instanced), as we see in the letter of 1717 to Mattheson, already quoted:

... Almost from the moment when I took over the direction of the church music, I did away with *Cornet-Ton* and introduced *Cammer-Ton*, which is a second or a minor third lower, according to circumstances, despite the fact that the transposed continuo parts were not always taken up with willing hands ...

Kuhnau here refers to the practice Bach followed throughout his Leipzig years—the practice of treating the organ, along with the trumpets and kettle-drums, as a transposing instrument, “in D,” and writing for the voices and strings not at the pitch of the organ, as in Weimar and in Mühlhausen, but at the pitch of the woodwinds, which in Leipzig in Bach's time was regularly a major second lower.

I say “regularly a major second lower” because this is the relation evidenced by almost all of the surviving Leipzig performing parts. The St. Matthew Passion begins (in the voices and all string and woodwind instruments) in “E” minor; the organ parts are in “D” minor. The Christmas Oratorio is in “D” major for the voices, strings, and woodwinds, but the trumpet, timpani, and organ parts are in “C” major. The same system is followed regularly in almost all the cantatas written after 1723.

There are, however, exceptions. The surviving instrumental parts of Cantata 23, the very first cantata Bach wrote for Leipzig, with his trial performance on February 7, 1723, in mind, exhibit such an exception. The organ part is in “A” minor; the parts for voices, strings, and oboes are in “C” minor; and some parts marked *Hautbois d'amour*, which contain exactly the same music as the oboe parts and are doubtless substitutes for them, are in “D” minor.

Now, since the compass of the hautbois d'amour lay a minor third below that of the ordinary oboe, Bach customarily wrote for it a minor third higher. And since in Leipzig he customarily wrote for the organ a major second below the oboe, the interval between the keys of the organ and the hautbois d'amour parts was regularly a perfect fourth. In Cantata 23, the interval is a fourth, as usual. But here, the ordinary oboes, instead of being written a minor third below the hautbois d'amour and a major second above the organ, are written a major second below the hautbois d'amour and a minor third above the organ.

This must mean either that the oboes for which Bach wrote these

parts were a half-tone lower in pitch than usual or that the organ and hautbois d'amour were a half-tone higher. But we know that this cantata was written for either the Thomas-Kirche or the Nicolai-Kirche, where the trial performance must have taken place. And it was for these organs (both of which were at the same pitch) that all the other Leipzig cantatas were written. The conclusion is inescapable: the oboes used in Cantata 23 (which in the event was not performed until 1724) played at a pitch a half-tone lower than usual, and the strings tuned down to them.

Consideration of Cantata 194 will confirm this conclusion. In this work, the original string and woodwind parts are notated in "B $\flat$ ," while of the two surviving incomplete organ parts one is in "A $\flat$ ," as we should expect, and one in "G." Some of the string and woodwind parts<sup>31</sup> are marked, in Bach's own handwriting, "*tief Cammerthon*." This means that for at least one performance of this work, as an exception, the oboe and bassoon parts were to be played on instruments a minor third lower than the organ, as in the Kuhnau Christmas Cantata, instead of a major second lower as usual, and the strings were to tune down to this low woodwind pitch.<sup>32</sup>

Why was this? Spitta assumes that Bach had for this performance only low-pitched instruments at his disposal. This is a possible inference, but there is a more likely explanation.

We know from Bach's own inscription on the autograph score of Cantata 194, as well as from other documentary evidence, that this cantata was written to celebrate the inauguration of a new organ in Störmthal, near Leipzig, on November 2, 1723. Direct evidence on the pitch of this organ is lacking. But there is circumstantial evidence of a striking nature. The vocal parts in this cantata have an exceptionally

<sup>31</sup> Including two unfigured continuo parts in "B $\flat$ ," doubtless intended for 'cello, violone, and bassoon. The material is described in BG XXIX and in Spitta, II, 772.

<sup>32</sup> With the thinner strings, lower tension, and less incisive bows of Bach's time, such tuning of the strings up or down by as much as a whole tone, unthinkable to the modern string-player, was common. Adlung, explaining how to make adjustments between *Chor-Ton* and *Cammer-Ton*, writes:

Kann der Organist eine Secunde tiefer spielen, oder der Direktor der Musik schreibt dessen Stimme einen Ton tiefer, die besaitete Instrumente stimmt er alsdenn um 1 Ton tiefer um nicht alles umschreiben zu müssen.

The organist can play a second lower, or the director of the music writes the organ part a tone lower, and tunes the stringed instruments down a tone so as not to have to rewrite everything.

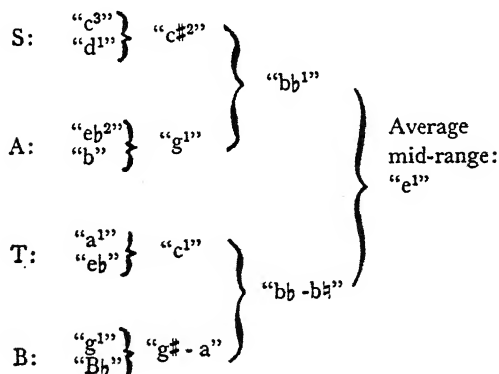
(*Anleitung . . .*, Second edition, 1783, p. 385.)

high range: soprano, "d<sup>1</sup> - c<sup>3</sup>"; alto, "b - e<sup>b2</sup>"; tenor, "e<sup>b</sup> - a<sup>1</sup>"; bass, "B<sup>b</sup> - g<sup>1</sup>." Now if only one or two of the voices, in solo arias, had exceptionally high ranges, we might say that Bach must have had exceptional singers available for this work. But the high notes for soprano and bass occur not only in the solo arias, but in the choral parts. And while the upper limits for alto and tenor are not unusually high, the lower limits are. Accordingly, we can only conclude that the pitch of the Störmthal organ was unusually low, and Bach's notation took account of this fact. When he later performed this cantata as part of a Leipzig church service (as the original material clearly shows that he did<sup>33</sup>), the use of the performing parts prepared for Störmthal would have required extremely high notes of the singers, without some special provision. So Bach specified that the woodwind players should use their low-pitched instruments, and the strings should tune down to them ("*tief Cammerthon*").<sup>34</sup>

In Leipzig, then, for Bach as for Kuhnau, *Chor-Ton* was invariable, and there were two levels of *Cammer-Ton*.

Perhaps in vocal compasses we have a criterion that may be of use in comparing the pitches at which different Bach works were performed. By reducing these compasses to a single convenient average mid-range of all voices, and comparing the average mid-ranges of different works, we might come to some tentative conclusions.

Take the Störmthal Cantata, for example. Let us find first the mid-range for each separate voice; then the average between the soprano and alto mid-ranges; and the average between the tenor and bass; and finally the average between these two averages:



<sup>33</sup> See BG XXIX, and Spitta II, 194 ff., 772.

<sup>34</sup> The "A<sup>b</sup>" continuo part belongs to the Störmthal performance, and the "G" continuo to the later Leipzig one, as BG and Spitta make clear from documentary evidence. On the pitch of the Störmthal organ, see also Part II.

Let us remind ourselves first of all what this average mid-range stands for. It is an abstraction arrived at by a process of repeated averaging. Like all abstractions, it is imperfect. It fails, for example, to tell us anything about the *tessitura*<sup>35</sup> of the voices—what part of their ranges they spend most of their time in. But it takes into account all the extremes, and we shall find it useful.

Perhaps it will be objected that in one work Bach may have wished, for expressive reasons, to exploit the higher, more brilliant registers, and

*St. John Passion* (1723)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "a^2" \\ "c\sharp^1" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^1" \\ "f^1 - f\sharp^1" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{A: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^2" \\ "g" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f^1 - f\sharp^1" \\ "g - g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{T: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "a^1" \\ "c" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "bb - b\sharp" \\ "g - g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{B: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^1" \\ "F" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e - f" \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} "d^1"$$

*St. Matthew Passion* (1729)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^2" \\ "c^1" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^1 - c^2" \\ "g\sharp^1 - a^1" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{A: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^2" \\ "g" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f^1 - f\sharp^1" \\ "g - g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{T: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "a^1" \\ "c" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "bb - b\sharp" \\ "g - g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{B: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^1" \\ "E" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e" \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} "d^1"$$

*B-minor Mass* (1733 . . .)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^2" \\ "b" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^1" \\ "g\sharp^1" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{A: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "c^2" \\ "f\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f^1" \\ "g\sharp - a" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{T: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^1" \\ "c\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "c^1" \\ "g\sharp - a" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{B: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f\sharp" \\ "E" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f" \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} "d^1"$$

*Christmas Oratorio* (1734)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "a^2" \\ "d^1" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b^1 - c^2" \\ "g\sharp^1 - a^1" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{A: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^2" \\ "g" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "f^1 - f\sharp^1" \\ "g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{T: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "a^1" \\ "d" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "b - c^1" \\ "g\sharp" \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{B: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e^1" \\ "F" \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} "e - f" \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} "d^1"$$

<sup>35</sup> One might think that the usefulness of this average mid-range would be seriously diminished because it fails to take account of how often each tone occurs. But a single extreme note is usually of far greater significance than its single occurrence might at first appear, and this process of averaging from the extreme notes seems to be as good a device as one can find for comparing the ranges of different works. I am indebted to Dr. John Curtiss, Executive Director of the American Mathematical Association, for reassurance that there is probably no better one that would not involve lengthy computation.

in another the lower, more sombre ones, so that the average mid-range would reflect the mood of a work rather than its pitch. But in actual fact the average mid-range varies very slightly among works written for performance with the same organs, irrespective of the mood of the text. Compare, for example, the four great choral works all written in Leipzig, and all except the Mass performed there (see the table on p. 348).

The average mid-range of all four works is almost exactly "d<sup>1</sup>," despite the fact that two of them are tragic works for Good Friday, one is ceremonial, and one is joyful, for the Christmas holidays.

Now let us return to the works probably written in Mühlhausen or Weimar, and tabulate their mid-ranges.

TABLE I

*Cantatas probably written in Mühlhausen or Weimar, of which the surviving vocal parts seem to be essentially as they must have been before any Leipzig alterations.*<sup>36</sup>

CANTATA	TITLE	PROBABLE PLACE OF COMPOSITION	DATE	AVERAGE MID-RANGE (Chor-Ton)
131	<i>Aus der Tiefe</i>	Mühlhausen, Blasius-K.	1707?	"c <sup>1</sup> "
106	<i>Gottes Zeit</i>	Mühlhausen?	1707?	"c <sup>#1</sup> "
71	<i>Gott ist mein König</i>	Mühlhausen, Marien-K.	1708	"c <sup>#1</sup> "
196	<i>Der Herr denkt an uns</i>	Mühlhausen?	1708?	"c <sup>#1</sup> "
4	<i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i>	Mühlhausen or Weimar	1708-14?	"c <sup>#1</sup> - d <sup>1</sup> "
150	<i>Nach dir, Herr</i>	Weimar?	1708-10?	"c <sup>#1</sup> - d <sup>1</sup> "
18	<i>Gleich wie der Regen und Schnee</i>	Weimar?	1713-14?	"c <sup>1</sup> "
21	<i>Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis</i>	Mühlhausen and Weimar	1714 and earlier	"c <sup>#1</sup> "
63	<i>Christen, ätzt diesen Tag</i>	Halle?	1713?	"d <sup>1</sup> "
182	<i>Himmelskönig, sei willkommen</i>	Weimar	1714?	"c <sup>#1</sup> - d <sup>1</sup> "
12	<i>Weinen, Klagen</i>	Weimar	1714?	"c <sup>1</sup> - c <sup>#1</sup> "
172	<i>Erschallet, Ihr Lieder</i>	Weimar	1714?	"c <sup>#1</sup> "

<sup>36</sup> The choice and order are based on p. 210 of Dürr's *Studien*, except that Cantata 15 is omitted, for the reasons previously stated.





[ 186 <sup>43</sup>	<i>Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht</i>	Weimar?	1716?	"d <sup>1</sup> "	]
[ 147 <sup>44</sup>	<i>Ich steh' mit einem Fuss im Grabe</i>	Weimar?	1716?	"eb <sup>1</sup> "	]

Of 21 cantatas written in Mühlhausen or Weimar, then, 9 have an average mid-range of "c<sup>#1</sup>," and the mid-ranges of the others are about evenly distributed on either side of this "c<sup>#1</sup>."

For comparison, we choose 21 Leipzig cantatas at random; i.e., the first 21 cantatas (in the arbitrary BG numbering) that are generally attributed to Leipzig.

TABLE II

*Cantatas probably written in Leipzig*

CANTATA	TITLE	AVERAGE MID-RANGE (Cammert-Ton)
1	<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
2	<i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
3	<i>Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
5	<i>Wo soll ich fliehen hin</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
6	<i>Bleib bei uns</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
7	<i>Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "
8	<i>Liebster Gott, wann werd ich sterben</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
9	<i>Es ist das Heil uns kommen her</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
10	<i>Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
11	<i>Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "
13	<i>Meine Seufzer, meine Thränen</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "
14	<i>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
16	<i>Herr Gott, dich loben wir</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
17	<i>Wer dank opfert, der preiset mich</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
19	<i>Es erhub sich ein Streit</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
20	<i>O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "
24	<i>Ein ungefärbt Gemüthe</i>	"eb <sup>1</sup> "
25	<i>Es ist nichts gesundes an meinem Leibe</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
26	<i>Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "
27	<i>Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> "
28	<i>Gottlob! nun geht das Jahr zu Ende</i>	"d <sup>1</sup> - eb <sup>1</sup> "

Of 21 cantatas written in Leipzig, then, 9 have an average mid-range of "eb<sup>1</sup>," six of "d<sup>1</sup>," and six have average mid-ranges lying

<sup>43</sup> See note 40.

<sup>44</sup> See note 40.

between "d<sup>1</sup>" and "eb<sup>1</sup>." It is unlikely that the addition of many more Leipzig cantatas would significantly affect this result.<sup>45</sup>

What we see, then, is that in *notation* the Leipzig cantatas are on the average nearly a tone higher than those written in Mühlhausen and Weimar. Does this indicate anything about the relation of *Cammer-Ton* in Leipzig to *Chor-Ton* in Mühlhausen and Weimar?

Dürr (pp. 61-64) has shown that when Bach repeated earlier cantatas in Leipzig he resorted to various devices of transposition. He never transposed the voice parts, since the singers simply took their pitch from the instruments. But if he wanted to use, at Leipzig *Cammer-Ton*, the original string parts, written for Weimar<sup>46</sup> *Chor-Ton*, he had to transpose the oboe and recorder parts, originally written higher, down to the same key as the strings. And since the organ was at *Chor-Ton* he had to transpose the organ part down a major second. In Cantatas 172, 21, 31, 161, and 70 he did this.<sup>47</sup>

Now if Leipzig *Cammer-Ton* was about a tone lower than Weimar *Chor-Ton*, as our tabulation of the average mid-ranges of the voice-parts would lead us to suspect, then when Bach repeated a Weimar work in Leipzig using the same string parts, the Leipzig performance took place at a pitch about a tone lower than the original Weimar performance.

But sometimes this must have pitched the vocal parts uncomfortably and ineffectively low. Then suppose Bach had decided to arrange for a performance at the original pitch. He would have had to transpose the strings up one tone. The organ and trumpet parts he could leave untouched; these instruments were at *Chor-Ton* in both Weimar and Leipzig. In those cantatas in which the oboe and recorder parts had originally been written a major second above the strings he could leave these woodwind parts untouched also. There are four, perhaps six, cantatas in this class: Nos. 172, 21, 199, 162 and perhaps 12 and 18. For two of them, Bach followed exactly this procedure. Cantata 172 was

<sup>45</sup> It is true that the average mid-ranges of the long works written in Leipzig are "d<sup>1</sup>," not "eb<sup>1</sup>." But, apart from the fact that these longer works are not strictly comparable to the earlier *cantatas*, and there are no early longer works, I do not know just what conclusion to draw from this.

<sup>46</sup> We have no evidence of his repeating any Mühlhausen work (unless Cantata 4 is a Mühlhausen work) in Leipzig. Cantata 15 should in my opinion be excluded from the discussion, for the reasons stated in footnote 24. Dürr's inclusion of Cantata 18 in his *Tafel II* is based on the Schering error mentioned in footnote 25.

<sup>47</sup> Presumably also in Cantatas 182 and 186, for which, however, no transposed continuo parts survive.

written originally in "C" major and Cantata 21 in "C" minor, Weimar *Chor-Ton*. The oboes of both were originally in "D," Weimar *Cammer-Ton*.<sup>48</sup> For one or more Leipzig performances of each cantata, Bach left the string parts untouched and had the oboe part transposed down to "C" and the organ part to "B $\flat$ ." On later occasions, perhaps when more time or more help was available, he had the string parts transposed up a tone, and used the original oboe and continuo parts. In Cantata 162, which has no oboe, he also seems to have transposed the string parts up one tone for a Leipzig performance.<sup>49</sup>

In those cantatas in which the original oboe or recorder parts were written a minor third higher than the strings the situation was more difficult.

Cantata 185 was written in Weimar in "F $\sharp$ " minor for the strings, bassoon, and continuo, and in "A" minor for the oboe. To transpose the string parts up a major second would have meant writing in "G $\sharp$ " minor, and transposing the oboe down to that impossible key. Bach accordingly transposed the strings only a half-tone up, and the oboes a whole-tone down, to "G," and the organ part down a half-tone to "F."

But this involved a great deal of work, and probably Bach could not always manage to have *all* the parts transposed. (In Cantatas 80, 163, and 147 he may have done so, but the evidence of the surviving material is not yet clear enough to show definitely whether he did or not.) On the other hand, to have transposed the string parts up a minor third to the same key as the oboes or recorders would have made the pitch of the Leipzig performance a half-tone higher than that in Weimar (and the organ parts would have had to be transposed up a half-tone). At least, this is how it would have worked if our assumption is correct that Leipzig *Cammer-Ton* was a whole-tone lower than Weimar *Chor-Ton*. Accordingly, Bach left most of the string parts of several cantatas

<sup>48</sup> Since the appearance of Dr. Dürr's book, and of my review of it in *J.A.M.S.*, Autumn, 1952, both he and I have had further opportunities to study the original parts. They show that Cantata 21 is a compilation from at least four different sources, written at different times. But the D-minor oboe part shows in the *Sinfonia* melodic movement involving the Neapolitan "c $\flat$ ," and the corresponding "d $\flat$ " is avoided in the "C" minor part in such a way as to indicate clearly that the original oboe part for this movement must have been in "D" minor.

<sup>49</sup> The bassoon part, which lies entirely within the bassoon's compass as notated ("C-c $\flat$ "), may have been notated a tone or a tone and a half higher in Weimar, or, as in Cantatas 172, 185, and 199, it may have been notated in *Chor-Ton*. It is not clear to me why Dürr lists this cantata (p. 63) among those involving the difference of a minor third.

untransposed when he repeated them in Leipzig, even though the voice parts must have lain uncomfortably low.

Our assumption, at any rate, fits the evidence so far better than any other assumption would. It is the same as Dürr's, and it has been arrived at by a somewhat different route. Before we approach it from another angle, let us see what it would mean if it were true.

If Leipzig *Cammer-Ton* were a tone lower than Weimar *Chor-Ton*, then *Chor-Ton* would be the same in Weimar as in Leipzig. In Leipzig, as we have seen, Bach worked in Cantatas 23 and 194 with woodwinds at *tief Cammer-Ton*, a half-tone below the ordinary Leipzig *Cammer-Ton*. In Weimar, too, the difference was sometimes a major second, sometimes a minor third. It has been customary to account for the minor third by assuming a higher pitch for the Weimar organ than for the Leipzig. But if the organ had really been a half-tone higher in Weimar than in Leipzig, then the average mid-ranges of the voice parts ought to differ by a minor third, whereas they appear to differ by a trifle less than a major second.

Accordingly, it seems most likely that:

(1) The organ pitch, *Chor-Ton*, was about the same in Weimar and Leipzig.

(2) Both in Weimar and in Leipzig, woodwind instruments were known in both *Cammer-Ton*, one tone below *Chor-Ton*, and *tief Cammer-Ton*, a half-tone lower still. In Leipzig, *tief Cammer-Ton* was used only exceptionally in Bach's time; in Weimar it was normal, and the higher *Cammer-Ton* was exceptional.<sup>50</sup>

(To be concluded)

<sup>50</sup> The higher *Cammer-Ton* was used in Weimar only in Cantatas 12, 172, 21, and 199. In all of these the exceptional pitch involves only one oboe. To assume that for these cantatas the woodwind players concerned used instruments at the higher pitch seems easier than to believe with Dürr (p. 57) that the continuo positive was tuned down for them. Woodwind players must often have had two or more instruments at different pitches, as we see from Cantata 194 that they did. (Dr. Dürr informs me that the watermark of the recorder parts for Cantata 18 establishes definitely that they date from Leipzig.)

## LIÈGE'S BURIED TREASURE

By ROBERT ERICH WOLF

**H**EEDED some rumors about the existence of a mysterious and unknown library in Liège, I decided to find out what is so carefully guarded, and why it remains untouched in such a country as Belgium, whose per capita proportion of outstanding musicologists is probably unequalled by any other.

The logical person to be queried was the distinguished musicologist Mme. Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune. With her aid I came eventually to know the history of this library and, finally, the library itself.

As probably few Americans realize, Liège maintained an entirely independent existence under the rule of a prince-bishop until the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Surrounded by greedy states — Burgundy, Hainaut, Brabant, Flanders, Cologne, The Netherlands, the Spanish invaders — it nevertheless maintained its autonomy, conducted its own wars (with practically everyone, great and small), developed its own culture, and from the earliest Middle Ages attracted scholars from all parts of Europe and gave its own to the furthest places of the Continent, not the least of whom were the musicians, among whom certainly were the ninth-century bishop Etienne, the problematical Aribonus, Johannes miscalled "Cottonius," the once-mysterious Jacobus and perhaps even his teacher known as Franco of Cologne, Jean Ciconia, Brassart, the Lantins, Arcadelt, an unbroken line of *maîtres*, great and small, which extended even beyond Henry Dumont, *maître de chapelle* of Louis XIV, and André-Modeste Grétry to César Franck and to an energetic group of dodecaphonists and *musique concrétistes* today. Its Cathédrale Saint Lambert was reputed to be the largest and most ornate in Europe (a 15th-century view of it may be seen in the background of the Liégeois Jean Van Eyck's misnamed *Virgin with the Chancellor Rollin*<sup>2</sup>) and

<sup>1</sup> Jean Lejeune, *La Principauté de Liège*, Liège, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> This startling information, with all of its weighty consequences for the history of painting, was first exposed in a public lecture by Jean Lejeune at the Université de Liège on February 10, 1954, and will be amplified in his forthcoming book on Van Eyck.

was itself a great center of learning with a large and important library.

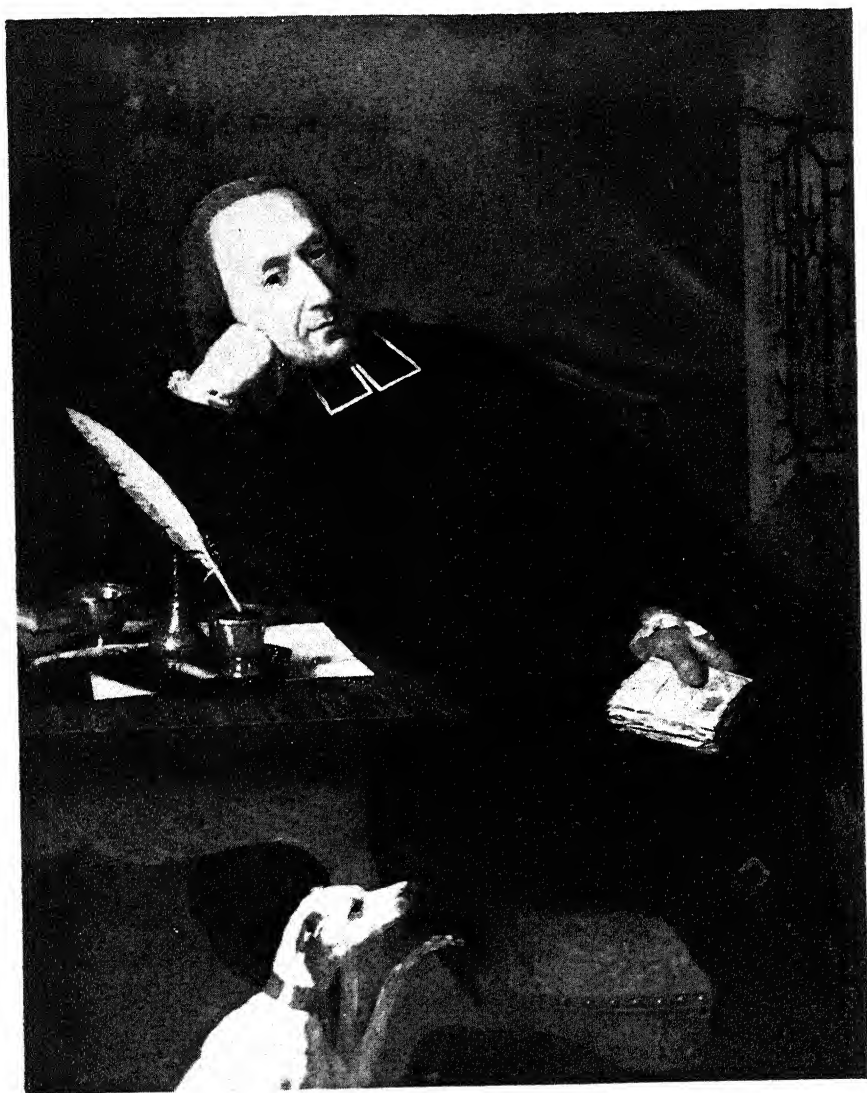
However, the Liégeois did not only war against all their neighbors but were also in frequent open conflict with their own prince-bishop, who was generally a German intruder and seldom possessed of many or any of the religious virtues of his position (the next-to-the-last, François-Charles de Velbrück, was an energetic Freemason!). As hot in temper as the coal that was the base of their wealth, the Liégeois seized upon what now seems a droll excuse for their final revolt: the last of the prince-bishops, the prudish Hoensbroeck, refused permission to open a third gambling-house in nearby Spa, and the people marched.<sup>3</sup> They earned the dubious distinction of being the only people in Europe not to be contented with sacking and pillaging their cathedral; they razed it to the ground. The anti-ecclesiastical cause was won, but the ancient *pays* was lost. Menaced by the imperial Austrian armies, there was no other recourse but to throw in their lot with revolutionary France, to whom they were linked by language and tradition, and, eventually, with the new Belgian government, in the establishment of which the always revolutionary Liégeois took a leading role.

The year of the revolution against the church saw the apogee of church music in Liège. The cathedral service was enlivened by the third largest orchestra in Christendom (40 to 50 strings plus comparable numbers of woodwinds), high Mass was a musical concert of the highest quality (its florid Italianate character is nicely described by Grétry in his *Mémoires*), and the city teemed with music-dealers, music-printers, and musical journals (six!). Under the leadership of three successive generations of the Hamal family, the cathedral chapel became renowned for its performance — and for its library. This latter was constantly enriched by the latest novelties, sacred and secular, brought back to it from the official and unofficial voyages to France and Italy of the thriving clergy.

But the dream was soon to end, and in violence. Knowing well the flaming tempers of his fellow citizens in the "ville ardente," the master of the chapel, Henri Hamal (1744-1822), made his preparations. Linking the cathedral and his own house was a tunnel, and when the roars of the mob broke into the elegant polyphony of the choir, the devoted canon dragged down the dark, underground corridors the precious library to be hidden safely in the cellar of his home together with, beyond

<sup>3</sup> Paul Harsin, *La révolution liégeoise*, Brussels, 1953.





Henri Hamal

(See p. 356)



doubt, a few bottles of the choicer wines that had enlivened the not too ecclesiastical celebrations of the now tumbling cathedral and its fleeing priests.

There the treasure was to remain until the good canon's death in 1822, when, by gift or purchase, it came into the hands of Léonard Terry (1816-82), professor at the Liège Conservatoire, composer, conductor, musicologist, and musical pioneer.<sup>4</sup> This intrepid musical progressive organized concerts and courses for students and workers at a time when such activity was almost unthinkable, and his success was such that when he announced a course in vocal music for workers 423 persons signed up for it in 15 days, and the project fell through because the city had no locale large enough. Great friend of the Countess Mercy-Argenteau, who was in turn the earliest patron of the Russian Group of Five, he collaborated with her in presenting in Liège the first Western European audition of the music of these radicals, music that only later made its way to Paris through the friendship of the Countess with Napoleon III.

From 1871 on, Terry devoted himself exclusively to research on the history of music in the old *pays de Liège*, and his interests extended from transcribing medieval polyphony to collecting the *cramignons* which were the very special folksongs of his *patrie*. Through fortunate purchases — although he was not able to rival the ubiquitous Fétis — he greatly extended the old cathedral library, adding to it not only ancient works but also first editions of his contemporaries, the pioneering works of the German musicologists, and modern musical journals. All this was to go into his great life-work, *La musique au Pays de Liège depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*; to complete his project it was indispensable (as it is still for those who would study the music of "Belgian" composers) to travel to the far places where Liégeois composers had worked — above all, to Italy — but no sooner was he awarded a government grant than he died of apoplexy on July 25, 1882. Nothing remains of his great venture except 93 notebooks with more than 25,000 pages of hand-written notes — and his library.

Immediately upon his death there was a universal demand that his library and documents be preserved for public use. In 1886 they were

<sup>4</sup> For much of the information on Terry I am indebted to the article of Antoine Auda, *Léonard Terry, professeur, compositeur, chef d'orchestre et musicologue liégeois* in *Compte-Rendu, Premier congrès, Société internationale de musicologie, Liège, 1er au 6 septembre 1930*, Guilford, England, 1930, pp. 73-75.

acquired jointly by the city of Liège and the Belgian government and subsequently the Conservatoire Royal of Liège was made the depository.

On the top floor of the Conservatoire, two steps from the river Meuse where whole generations of rebellious Liégeois were drowned by the vengeful prince-bishops, and a short walk from the great square where once stood its cathedral-home, now a tram terminus, lies the Fonds Terry, untended, unclassified, uncatalogued. The soot and grime of more than sixty years — or, perhaps, of more than three centuries — eats into exquisitely tooled bindings and dried-out, yellowed, fragmenting pages where the worm, too, has done its evil work. Three great musicologists have striven for the onerous but gratifying task of cataloguing it, Antoine Auda, Charles Van den Borren, and Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, but their efforts have come to naught. Not until 1946 was there an official librarian appointed for the Conservatoire, but the incumbent can do little more than manage the regular circulating library. Liège's treasure, now touched from time to time by the wan sunlight of the ancient city, remains as darkly buried as when its only Fafner was a courageous canon standing guard at the door of his wine-cellar.

After four months in Liège, I was enabled, through an acquaintance, to enter the *sanctum sanctorum*, albeit briefly. Three days spent on ladders, crawling on the floor, unpiling and repiling scattered stacks of great volumes, and I emerged as covered with soot and grime as the oldest volumes, clutching my casual notes and conscious of having beheld and held an irreplaceable treasure without which the world of musicology is poorer. What I can tell of it is only the result of superficial gleaning; a definitive report would require the services of a team of musicologists and librarians during many months.

First, there are the manuscripts. Long shelves hold volume after volume of these, and among them I noted works, both religious and secular, of D'Astorga, Lorenzo Bologna, Caffaro, Campra, Cantu, Caroli, G. B. Casali, Cesarini, Cesti, Chirolì, the Ciampis, Cimador, Cirutti, Conti, Cordicelli, Costanzi, D'Almani, Decostis, Delvaux, Durante, Feo, Jommelli, Francesco de Maio, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Steffani. The very first manuscript of Scarlatti examined proved to be an unknown or at least uncatalogued cantata. It will be noted that several of the names in this list appear in neither Eitner nor Fétis nor *MGG*.

Then there are the original editions: many, many of the publications of Ballard, works of Campra, Cazzati, Clérambault, Corelli, François

Couperin, Dandrieu, Daquin, Lully, Pollaroli, Rameau, A. Scarlatti, and many others, and among them are editions not listed in the standard bibliographical sources. The richness of the collection of 16th-, 17th-, and 18th-century treatises is scarcely describable — not only the to-be-expected Descartes, Doni, Fogliano, Gafurius, Glareanus, Heyden, Kircher, Mersenne, Printz, Rameau, and Zarlino, but a host of others, some of which, according to Eitner and later sources, exist in single copies, often in German libraries whose present state is uncertain. There are two collections of 17th-century *Laudi spirituali* and several volumes of French psalms of the same period that I do not find listed anywhere.

A special group is of interest, a vast number of histories, treatises, polemics on the French-Italian operatic quarrels of the 18th century, and there is an imposing collection of books on the dance and theater (no one could accuse the ecclesiastics of Saint Lambert of one-sidedness!).

Of liturgical works there is a great store ranging from the 16th to the 18th centuries, and it is quite possible that there are volumes that antedate this period and that should prove of great interest since the liturgy of Liège has always had certain unique features owing to the autonomy offered by its peculiar religious-secular government. There can be no doubt that among the 25,000 pages of notes left by Terry can be found much of importance on that medieval period which was so culturally rich in Liège.

There are shelf upon shelf of early 19th-century French and Walloon folksong collections, and, aside from music, great masses of other fascinating material, such as documents and works relating to the civil, ecclesiastical, and political history of Liège and its related states, 17th- and 18th-century books on voyages, and finally a remarkable selection of Italian literature, including, for example, the 1537 edition of the *Opera* of Angelo Poliziano and the *Prose* of 1522 of Cardinal Bembo.

Finally, there remains one truly exciting group. It is only partly true that the collection is uncatalogued. Prior to the advent of the present librarian someone had started a card-index. These cards, covering only a very small segment of the library, are incomplete, usually including author and title only without date or category or publisher. Among them, however, is a stack of cards perhaps six inches high of "anonymous" works; competent cataloguing by a musicologist would undoubtedly reduce that stack considerably, but we can only speculate on the real "unknowns" that might be turned up.

Here then are more than 8000 volumes without which the world of musicology is poorer, and no one knows how much poorer. It is not the place of any foreigner to give counsel to the administration of an institution or a country, but I cannot help believing that many scholars and musicians join me in the hope that the Belgian government will soon find some way to protect this treasure from the ravages of time and neglect, to house it properly, to arrange for its cataloguing by skilled musicologists and librarians, and to make it available to an international body of scholars who will justify the heroism of Canon Hamal and the industrious devotion of Léonard Terry.

## CURRENT CHRONICLE

### UNITED STATES

#### Ann Arbor, Michigan

Two interesting works were heard on the occasion of the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, held in Ann Arbor during the Christmas holidays. The first one, Milhaud's Quintet No. 2, for string quartet and double bass, excellently played by the Stanley Quartet and Clyde Thompson, the ensemble to which it was dedicated, was highly entertaining. Milhaud creates tidy miniature sections, neatly wrapped up, then he proceeds to play with them in all manner of arrangements. The quintet is full of tricks and they are delightful. As one would expect, the texture is transparent and lively; little motifs dance around, well imitated, always purposeful, and there are no idling parts. Nevertheless, this is typical French *quartet* writing and one is aware of a certain embarrassment on the composer's part about the presence of the quartet's grand uncle, who has to be humored. Milhaud would like to write pure quartet music—and there are many passages without the bass fiddle—but then, this is supposed to be a quintet.

As a matter of fact, the double bass does upset the balances no matter how carefully handled (and Mr. Thompson is a master of his instrument). Low tones as well as pizzicatos stand out the instant they appear, and it is difficult to reconcile them with the rest. The prevailing lightness and vivaciousness of the piece is immediately beclouded when the double bass tries to execute runs and turns that are initiated by the other parts—the instrument just won't respond to such calls. In the slow movement Milhaud shows that he can solve the problem. It has a nice melody, and wonderful eerie sonorities in which the bass fiddle was very effective because it had no linear-thematic role assigned to it; it merely furnished the bass.

Ross Lee Finney's Quartet No. 6 displays all the virtues the rollicking and half-serious Milhaud piece spurns. It is consistently serious



chamber music; the composer is not interested in tricks, yet he never forgets what his instruments should do in a quartet. First of all, the work shows a well planned formal design, centered around the Intermezzo, the slow movement, which has a pivotal role. The third movement is a scherzo, the fourth a fugue, and the body of the work is nicely framed by an Introduction and a Conclusion.

Though entirely within the tone-row idiom, which is handled with a natural ease that betrays no trace of contrivance, this quartet is tonal in its long-range effect, the prevailing tonality being E. Thus the complicated linear technique of the tone row is convincingly reconciled with musical architecture resting on the basic concept of our Western music. The composer, a disciple of Alban Berg, obviously believes in the enduring value of tonality and, unlike others, does not think that it has exhausted its possibilities.

In spite of the complicated texture, the music is heartfelt, communicative, easily grasped, and clear in structure. This composer also believes in immediate affective communication and perception, notably present in the Intermezzo. This movement is a sustained song in quartet terms; its flowing melody breathes real chamber-music spirit. The scherzo is elegant, while the introductory slow sections (there is an *adagio* prefacing the fugue) are pensive and epigrammatic.

An example will perhaps illustrate how the composer unites the old and the new. His first row is thus arranged:



In the time-honored manner, some portion of this idea catches the imagination of the composer. At first it takes this thematic shape:



neatly imitated in the other parts, then it is extended into a flowing arabesque:



In the meantime, an inversion appears as a foil to the soaring "principal theme,"



inviting motion of a different order. Finally, the kernel of this idea clashes with its inversion in a spirited exchange towards the end of the movement.

Throughout the composition Mr. Finney demonstrates that he was born and raised with chamber music, and his Quartet No. 6 reminds us that though the big orchestra has its attraction, in instrumental music it is still the quartet that puts a musician's capabilities to the full test.

P. H. L.

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#### Chicago

A most promising young composer of the Chicago area is Donald Jenni. At the ripe age of seventeen—he was born in Milwaukee on October 4, 1937, and still lives there—he can boast of four first prizes in national competitions held in 1950, 1951, 1952, and 1955. Two works of his have been published, many of them have been heard locally, and one was heard twice over CBS in 1953.

Jenni's parents began to encourage Donald to take music instruction when he was a child, and for his first piano lessons engaged Mrs. Olive Gillard (1944). Three years later Jenni entered Alverno College of Music in Milwaukee, where he studied piano, organ, violin, and harmony with Sister Mary Silvestra, OFS. He had begun to compose during that year (1947); now the very conservative taste of his new teacher elicited a healthy response from the ten-year-old: he wrote his first piano pieces in a modernistic style. His progress and talent aroused so much interest among the Sisters that, though he is a Protestant, they arranged for a scholarship for him at DePaul University in Chicago, where he has been studying music since 1951 while attending high school in Milwaukee.

In the past years the youngster has made amazing progress studying

theory and composition with Leon Stein. Under the guidance of Thaddeus Kozuch he has become an excellent pianist. Since July 1953, despite his youth, he has been director of music at Temple Baptist Church in Milwaukee, where he is the organist, conducts the choir, and composes for the services. He has repeatedly served as musical director of the variety shows at Washington High School, from where he has just graduated, and has played double bass in the All-City Youth Orchestra of Milwaukee. Other instruments he plays are violin, viola, and recorder.

All these musical activities have in no way curtailed Jenni's other interests, which are wide. He reads avidly and has even begun to write himself; his article *Music 1954* appeared in the January 1954 issue of *Seventeen*. Art is another field of great interest to Jenni. During the summer of 1953 he took an art course which reached a climax in an exhibition of his works in the style of medieval "primitives." In addition, he has been an outstanding student throughout high school.

His composition teacher, Dr. Stein, with whom he will continue to study now that he has become a regular student at DePaul University, describes the young man as follows — and this writer fully confirms this description: highly intelligent, of great seriousness of purpose, neither morbid nor falsely profound, yet sensitive to literature and art and penetrating in his grasp. A quiet sense of humor, a cooperative spirit, and dignified modesty mark Jenni's behavior. Solid and mature, though healthily exploratory, his work lacks the flashy precociousness and imitative sophistication of more shallow talents while showing a fine sense for organization.

Though he writes with great facility, but never superficially, Jenni's compositions are as yet not numerous, for two reasons: his studies in high school and music school as well as his other interests leave him little time, and, besides, he develops so quickly that he discards as ancient what is a year or two old, so that only a few early compositions are still in his hands. He has been able to assemble for the present writer a list of 16 works, comprising pieces for orchestra, smaller instrumental ensembles, piano, and voice and piano.

From this surviving output the sequence of developmental stages cannot be read in detail. In general it may be described as leading from a preoccupation with Impressionistic chords to neo-Classical simplicity and linearity and to chords in fourths that lend some pieces a Hindemithian quality. Of late larger melodic leaps and increased dis-

sonance in contrapuntal settings approach Bartók's ideas. A vital rhythmic pulse gives vigor to Jenni's music, which is at all times clearly formulated and well cadenced. With a fine understanding of his youthfulness Jenni cultivates small forms, in which he exhibits a mature insight into organization. Thematic variation and combinations of ideas are delicately handled; recapitulations always have a fresh approach; economy, avoidance of stereotypes in form and cadence, and originality of idea and expression mark this young composer's style. Unpretentious yet serious, his music exhibits the assuredness of a much older person. Moreover, Jenni successfully adapts himself to functional needs, such as those of a school play or of a brass choir. The fact that he often experiments with certain ideas does not obtrude, for he turns every experiment into meaningful music.

None of Jenni's works is as yet of world-shaking importance, but some of them — for example the Sonatine and *Ten Laconic Variations* for piano and the Allegro for Brass Choir — can well compete with the best published music of comparable types by other American composers. The following excerpts will illustrate some of Jenni's procedures.

The theme of the Ten Variations is in a folkloric mood, expressed by a simple, ingratiating melody and the soft, rounded harmonies of a tonal texture, but with avoidance of triads:

Ex. 1 Slightly sentimental



A simple but interesting counterpoint, the vigorous sounds of chords in fourths, and a fresh rhythmic pulse give buoyancy to the Allegro for Brass Choir, scored for four trumpets and horns, three trombones, two baritones, and tuba. The beginning of this work also illustrates the freshness and convincing force of Jenni's cadences (Ex. 2).

Of late greater sharpness in dissonance treatment marks Jenni's

## Ex. 2

Allegro con moto, d-72

The musical score for Ex. 2 is written for piano in 2/4 time. It consists of eight systems of music. The first system begins with a *mf* dynamic. The second system includes a *mp* dynamic. The third system features a *mf* dynamic. The fourth system includes a *mp* dynamic. The fifth system features a *pp* dynamic. The sixth system includes a *mp subito* dynamic. The seventh system features a *cresc.* dynamic. The eighth system features a *mf* dynamic.

style, as is shown by the following sketch for the slow movement of the String Terzetto on which he is now working. The wide intervals of Expressionist music, with stress on sevenths and ninths, especially on major sevenths, present in this excerpt, also appear in other of his writings since 1954. Together with greater freedom in meter these features point to Jenni's growing admiration for Bartók:

Ex. 3



These examples indicate what has been stated above: that in Jenni we have a great talent, a definite promise for the future. Whether this promise will be fulfilled will depend on many things, but with a reasonable amount of normal good luck Donald Jenni may well become one of the leading composers of the next generation.

HANS TISCHLER

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### Pittsburgh

Nikolai Lopatnikoff's Third Symphony emerges as the most distinguished première of the season 1954-55. The work was enthusiastically received, following a splendid performance of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra directed by William Steinberg, an interpreter of life-long identification with the cause of modern music.

The Third Symphony, Op. 35, ranks unquestionably among Lopatnikoff's finest works; it may well represent his *opus optimum*. It follows Lopatnikoff's earlier symphonies after a considerable interval.

The First Symphony originated in the years 1927-28, during the composer's residence in Germany. It was significant as a promise, coming as it did from the pen of a composer then in his twenties. The Second Symphony, written in 1938-39, marks a turn in Lopatnikoff's symphonic style. It points to the composer's search for symphonic expression entirely within the framework of tonality. The score originated at the time of his departure from Europe to America.

The Third Symphony is a significant manifestation of symphonic thought in mid-20th century. It points to the renewed conflict between classical and romantic trends in our time and their convincingly form-minded solution. This symphony reaffirms a general impression gained from the lifework of the composer, now in his fifty-second year. Lopat-

nikoff's tonal imagination is directed by neo-Classical impulses. Structural clarity and logic are his primary aims. The symphony is governed by the logic of thematic procedure. This implies a contrast to the rhapsodic liberty so prevalent in many neo-Romantic works and to their insufficiently integrated episodes. The prevailing spirit and technique of the symphony are distinctly modern.

Lopatnikoff's architecture is one of economy. Everywhere the texture is compact, yet in spite of the tautness of expression, the formal design is spacious. The texture aims at equilibrium between polyphony and harmony, the melody rings at times with Russian overtones, but the thematic design never consciously borders on the folkloristic; it is shaped by a cosmopolitan intellect in the service of melodic polyphony. The feeling of key is deliberately free. "Floating tonality" prevails, as in other recent works of Lopatnikoff. Often the texture is subtly enriched by "hidden" polyphony. Even below the surface of simple tone lines, the contrapuntal underpinning of the music is felt.

Rhythm, as in most works of the composer, appears as a driving force. Thus, the character of many themes is primarily rhythmical. Friction of close intervals, along with the wide skips of tone lines, give a slightly amelodic aspect to the opening movement as well as to the finale. But this procedure accounts for the harmonic variety of the music, in addition to its metric *élan*.

Instrumentation serves the polyphonic aspects of the music. There is no attempt at a fusion of colors, but rather they are distinctly separated. The orchestral pedal is practically non-existent; there is a minimum of sustained brass. Historically viewed, then, this is unRomantic orchestration. Its affinity is Baroque.

FREDERICK DORIAN

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New York

Jan Meyerowitz is a composer who came from Central Europe to make his home in the United States. He is perhaps best known for his opera *The Barrier*, with libretto by Langston Hughes, which had several New York productions a year or so back.

Now, again with text by Langston Hughes, Meyerowitz has written a short cantata, *The Glory Around His Head*, which has been given its



first presentations in a series of concerts by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, the Westminster Choir, and soloists with Mitropoulos conducting. The story is that of the Resurrection, treated in simple, folk-like language and with a direct dramatic impact. It opens with the idea that Jesus was not wanted, from the very time of his birth and all through life, "By the men who hate, By the men who cheat, By the men who live by the sword, By the kings and princes, And the robbers and killers—None of them wanted my Lord!" This is followed by a more or less conventional treatment of Jesus' dying for sinners, and winds up with the chorus singing "Don't you see the Glory round His head?" To such a theme, important and deeply-felt music might be written; and indeed, it seems urgently needed. Unfortunately, it must be reported that the music failed to be convincing. An external, superficial sense of drama was achieved, largely by employing artifices especially studied to produce this effect; but we were forced to share the widely heard comment that the music does not display anything genuinely and sincerely felt by the composer. It is not that the music is on a level of serenity above the world of common emotion; on the contrary it embodies constant fireworks and shouting. The general style is post-Romantic, the setting melodramatic.

The instrumental prelude consists of a slow 5/4 section in what looks like 16th-century counterpoint, but which proves to be more harmonic than melodic, for the coexisting melodies usually run together chordally in note-against-note rhythm. All manner of dissonant and consonant intervals are treated freely and similarly, with no great sense of formal organization. The introduction of a chorale melody (*So ruhest du, o meine Ruh*), which should serve to tie the contrapuntal elements together, does not seem to aid in dispelling the vagueness and lack of direction of the melodic lines. Part II (*My Lord Not Wanted*) opens with rapid-fire eighth notes repeated along a four-note scale passage (Ex. 1a).<sup>1</sup> This is developed extensively later on, although neither the scale line nor the rhythm is very interesting. When a melodic inversion development occurs a few measures later (Ex. 1b) it seems exceptionally hardboiled to hear the text "Jesus Christ not wanted" spat out on such fast and unyielding eighths. Part III (*Thy Will be Done*) attempts to emulate the reposeful manner of a Bach chorale, but this is interfered with by poor placement of the words in relation to the melodic line. Ex. 2 shows an instance in which, in setting the words "Jesus prayed in

<sup>1</sup> Examples copyright 1955 by Broude Bros.

the garden in the evening," the two high and climactic notes of the melody are both on the word "the!" In Ex. 3 (from Part V) is shown an instance of lack of rhythmical imagination in setting the word "mob." Needless to say, it cannot be sung as written, except as a joke, and the conductor permitted the sopranos to sing the word in normal rhythm. Ex. 4, from the final climax in Part VI, shows a similar instance, in which the biting off of the word "head" reduces the dramatic effect of the whole melodic line to a horribly unfeeling and tasteless bit of extravagance.

Ex. 1 a *(J = 150) Solo (Medium Voice)*  
  
 All His life by some folks not wanted At the inn not wanted.

Ex. 1 b  
  
 Jesus Christ not wanted.

Ex. 2 *Andante (J = 76)*  
  
 Je-sus prayed in the garden in the eve-ning.

Ex. 3 *(J = 92)*  
  
 Two mem-bers of a low-ly mob Who

Ex. 4 *Vivace*  
  
 Don't you see the Glo-ry round His head?

The work was expertly performed; but the feeling that remained after it was heard was one of profound shock; shock at the coldness behind the dramatic utterances and shock at the lack of honest feeling.

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*Deserts*, by Edgard Varèse, had its first American performance at Bennington College on May 17. This is the first new work, by one of

the world's most extraordinary composers, to be heard in many a long year. Varèse is not very prolific, and aside from a shorter piece for flute alone, his fame rests on a rather small number of unique, belligerent-sounding compositions for orchestral instruments (including many percussion) written in the early 'twenties and before. Nearly all of these have, in their way, become classics. Their particularized use of rows of percussion sounds melodically, and their drive towards maximum intensity of dynamic dissonance on wind instruments in particular, form an entirely distinctive style; and while this has been influential, it has never been exactly imitated. He is the only composer connected with the futurist manifesto written at Milan in 1913 who has achieved a position of importance in modern music.

*Deserts* was begun at New York in 1952, and finished November 1954 in Paris, where, on December 2, its European première took place at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, performed by the Orchestre National under the direction of Hermann Scherchen. It was given again in Hamburg December 8, and in Stockholm December 18, conducted by Bruno Maderna.

The Paris performance was received "in a deluge of vociferations and applause, and this collision of enthusiasm against indignation resulted in pandemonium, or what the French call 'un scandale.'" One critic said, "Music always lags behind the other arts. Only today has its revolution finally burst: with Varèse." Another: "Certain belligerent listeners took the work as a direct assault on their stupidity and protested noisily." A third: "The furious rush of sound invades the desert of the human brain. We are powerless before its onslaught; it takes possession of us, staggering us with its formidable punch."

Varèse says:

*Deserts* was conceived for two different media: instrumental sounds and real sounds (recorded and processed) that musical instruments are unable to produce. After planning the work as a whole, I wrote the instrumental score, always keeping in mind its relation to the organized sound sequences on tape to be interpolated at three different points in the score. I have always looked upon the industrial world as a rich source of beautiful sounds, an unexplored mine of music in the matrix. So I went to various factories in search of certain sounds I needed for *Deserts* and recorded them. These noises were the raw materials out of which (after being processed by electronic means) the interpolations of organized sound were composed.

The score of *Deserts* is made up of two distinct elements: 1) an instrumental ensemble composed of 14 wind instruments, a variety of percussion instruments

played by 5 musicians, and a piano as an element of resonance; 2) magnetic tapes of organized sound transmitted on two channels by means of a stereophonic system to provide a sensation of spatial distribution of the sound sources to the listener. There are four instrumental sections of different lengths and three stereophonically transmitted interpolations of organized sound introduced between the first and second, the second and third, and the third and fourth instrumental sections. Of the music given to the instrumental ensemble, it may be said that it evolves in opposing planes and volumes, producing the sensation of movement in space. But, although the intervals between the pitches determine these ever-changing and contrasted volumes and planes, they are not based on any fixed set of intervals such as a scale, a series, or any existing principle of musical measurement. They are decided by the exigencies of this particular work. Of the interpolations it should be noted that the first and third are based on industrial sounds (sounds of friction, percussion, hissing, grinding, puffing) first filtered, transposed, transmuted, mixed, etc. by means of electronic devices and then composed to fit the preestablished plan of the work. Combined with these sounds as a structural and stabilizing element (especially in the third interpolation) are fragments of instrumental percussion, some already present in the score, others new. The second interpolation is for an ensemble of percussion. It will be noticed that the shorter the section the higher the intensity, the music rising to a climax in the third interpolation and fourth instrumental section, finally fading out in a long *pianissimo*.

*Deserts* is not in a totally new style; it resembles very much the earlier Varèse manner known to all followers of modern music. It is, however, more integrated and expanded. The number of elements used is greater, the form more understandable although on a larger scale (the bridge passages are especially worthy of notice, since they bridge "from the human being to the industrial machine and back again" in quite an uncanny way). The sense of climax is more pointed; there is a feeling that each section arrives at at least a partial conclusion, and this conclusion is not, as in some of the earlier works, arrived at mainly through reiterated notes.

Of the seven sections, Numbers 1, 3, 5, and 7 are actually played on wind and percussion instruments; Numbers 2, 4, and 6 are interpolated, and are on magnetic tape. The real performance leads to the tape sound, and the tape sound to the live players by gradual degrees which surprisingly bridge what might be a wide gap in tone quality, but which is handled expertly to form a real tonal splice. The tone-qualities employed on the tape are apt to be percussive, but with many new sounds on definite rather than indefinite pitches (not necessarily in equal temperament). Some of the new qualities are sustained, others explosive in nature; this difference is also maintained in the live-performed portions of the work, and is one of the means of preserving a feeling of unity between these and the tape sections.

It may be of interest here to compare *Deserts* with the works of some others who work with tape in America.<sup>2</sup> Luening and Ussachevsky, working together, use many human-voice sounds, changed in range and out of original context. Varèse uses none. They also use familiar instruments which are greatly changed in range—for instance, a flute that originally played high C may be lowered to a bass low C, but retaining a flute quality. If Varèse employs any such means we failed to detect it. Luening and Ussachevsky, in their *Louisville Concerto*, used tape sounds as the solo voice, against actually performed orchestral sounds. Varèse alternates these sounds so that they never are heard together.

*Deserts* builds to a tremendous climax dynamically and in intensity towards the end. Varèse develops his old interest in maximum resonances of combined instruments in *fortissimo*, and wields a biting percussion group which has less going on at once than in his older works (such as *Ionization*), but in which each rhythmical rapier-thrust counts so that the counter-rhythmical patterns are more vividly clear.

This is the best work, the most mature, the largest and the most integrated, by a composer who holds a unique position among the world's creators. We predict that *Desert* will be held as a masterpiece by those who follow tape and percussion music with devotion.

HENRY COWELL

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Jacques de Menasce's new Sonata for Viola and Piano is a distinguished and beautiful work. Completed in March 1955, and performed for the first time, by the composer and Lillian Fuchs, at a concert of The Musicians Guild in April, the Sonata makes the impression of a completely realized, completely successful essay in this difficult medium. One feels that it may well prove to be an enduring work, not merely because it is a successful viola sonata, but because it is first-rate chamber music from beginning to end, so wholly satisfying as music that one forgets that it is also a *tour de force*.

It is several years since de Menasce has produced a work of this size or scope. Because of ill health the composer has confined himself recently to songs—some very extraordinary ones—and small piano pieces. It is at least ten years (if my memory serves) since the Violin

<sup>2</sup> See *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIX (1953), 254f.

Sonata, and considerably longer since the Second Piano Concerto. It is therefore interesting to note the crystallization, clarification, and intensification of style that is evident in this latest work. The Viola Sonata is de Menasce's most moving and most eloquent expression; it has greater depth and passion, consistently and persuasively, in addition to all of the polish, the refinement, the sensitive calculation that one admires in earlier compositions. The Viola Sonata is the work of a man who is both musical and human, who adds to a great technical skill a deep wisdom and an unconstrained warmth. De Menasce's craftsmanship, his *expertise* in writing, the coherence of his musical thought, the consistency and clarity of his language, have always been impressive. He is one of the not many composers, for all that his output has been comparatively small, who are really original and who have a completely personal style. Like all such styles, de Menasce's is difficult to describe; one is not tempted to refer the reader to other composers for comparisons, since de Menasce's music does not sound like Berg's (with whom he studied) nor like Stravinsky's or Bartók's or Hindemith's. The Viola Sonata is the music of a definite and recognizable personality.

The texture of the Sonata is extremely rich. The harmonic idiom derives basically from the superposition of perfect and augmented fourths; chords so constructed are handled with remarkable subtlety and variety, so that they sound at times acrid and biting and at other times gentle and veiled. A counterpoint of considerable complexity forms, and is formed by, this consistently dissonant fabric. There is no triad or simple seventh chord in the work, yet there is also no great effect of dissonance for its own (or for experiment's) sake. There are also no tricks, no bizarre sonorities, no tortured lines, no instrumental "effects." The clue to the work's distinction is perhaps its control, which one senses to be absolute. The freedom of the 20th century with respect to every aspect of the technique of composition has imposed the need for this sort of control on every composer. Perhaps what we mean when we speak of a composer's attaining maturity is precisely his achievement of a sense of what noise or novelties to eliminate. We have no ready-made musical syntax, although it is suggested that we are evolving one; this seems to me to be still a rather distant (and not necessarily desirable) prospect. A much more real phenomenon, which needs no justification outside itself, is the evolution of a consistent and controlled style through invention and selection. Since the 20th century has invented much, perhaps it is selection and control that we should now recognize as mastery of medium.

Clarity of form, as against complexity of form, is an aspect of this mastery. It is fairly easy to be complex, difficult to be clear; "devices" are numerous and come to hand easily, but it requires instinct or intelligence to achieve lucidity. De Menasce's Viola Sonata is strikingly clear, sure, and satisfying in its organization. It is a one-movement work, of about nine minutes; this is a rather dangerous outline for any but the surest and most highly skilled craftsman. De Menasce presents his most important structural material in the opening seven measures:

Ex. 1

Adagio

etc.

The *adagio* quickens gradually to *allegro molto* and subordinate material is introduced. The middle section, *allegro moderato*, is a lengthy contrapuntal development of a subject derived from the viola line in measure 7 (see Ex. 1):

Ex. 2 Allegro moderato  $\text{♩} = 116$ 

Piano

etc.



The composer calls this section *fugato*, though it is perhaps more ample than this term indicates. A second *allegro* restates the first one, though not literally, and one tone higher, and the Sonata concludes with an *adagio* that is a truncated evocation of the opening. The form is thus basically simple and regular: A-B-C-B-A; an arch, if one will. These "analytical" descriptions do not help one greatly; inferior works also fall into patterns. It is the relevance of "form" to "content" for which only music speaks, and here it speaks persuasively. It is not a derogation to say that in this respect this music is not difficult.

The work should go into the repertory and it should be recorded. One may hope that a recording will be made by Miss Fuchs and the composer. One may hope too that this Sonata will be the first in a new succession of larger works by de Menasce, whose contribution to the music of our time is already larger than is generally perceived.

RICHARD F. GOLDMAN

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#### AUSTRIA

The musical offerings of Vienna combine artistic excellence with convenience of location as if especially designed for students and lovers of music. Almost all concerts take place in either the Konzerthaus or the Musikverein, while musico-dramatic events take place in the Volksoper or the Theater-an-der-Wien (with the re-opening of the Staatsoper next fall, music will be even more concentrated). The quantity of interesting concerts and operatic performances is large enough to overwhelm one with musical indigestion, a common complaint among visiting Americans. With so much that is satisfying, there is still one appetite left unsatisfied: the desire for new works. The programs of both opera and concert reflect a basic conservatism in the Viennese audience, and the proportion even of established contemporary compositions, to say nothing of new works, is astonishingly small. As a sample of attitude, at a performance of Prokofiev's *Love for Three Oranges* there were hundreds of empty seats in the normally full Volksoper, and the audience reaction was cool to cold.

In this situation it is interesting and paradoxical that Werner Egk's ballet *Abraxas* continues to hold its place in the ballet repertory and also in the hearts of the audience. At a recent performance there was real enthusiasm for this work on the part of a crowded house. The action of the ballet compiles various Faust legends in five scenes which spin a better dramatic thread than in most ballets. Among Faust's loves we see both Margarethe and Helena, a variety of episode helpful in this medium. The music provides an excellent background and stimulus for the dance except in the opening scene, where Faust's "old magician" theme, uninteresting at best, is repeated to distraction. There are unmistakable overtones of Stravinsky (the bi-tonal cadence from *Apollon*) and Offenbach (*Gaité Parisienne*, finale) at times — but what better overtones could one invoke for ballet? For the most part Egk's style is conservatively dissonant, constructed diatonically rather than chromatically. The dissonance occurs logically within a strong tonal framework emphasized by pedal points and harmonic *ostinati* in various registers. The melody shares this obstinacy, not always with good effect. The outstanding characteristic of the music, however, is its appropriateness for dance, and it leaves a satisfying total impression.

The staging of the ballet made effective use of two different levels in several scenes as well as a telescope technique at one point in which a couple in the far background duplicates the gestures of the main figures in the foreground. These methods served to clarify symbolism, separating the intentional from the unintentional. Among various mechanical delights, an entrée of the she-devil by elevator remains vivid in memory. The scenery was stark and even startling, rather simply combining massive symbolical pillars, figures, and designs in white, gold, and red-orange against a fundamental black, with costumes to match. The choreography varied between brilliant individual effects and mass scenes where the motion did not progress consistently. On the whole, however, the final result was well conceived and executed.

JAN LARUE

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Gustave Reese*. (W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1954. Pp. xvii, 1022.)

When I was asked by the editor to review Gustave Reese's recent book I consented with pleasure as well as with some hesitation. I was pleased because the author's merits have been known to me for a long time and also because I was especially interested in the subject of the book; I hesitated because a study of this monumental work, whose approximately 1000 pages present the subject in extremely concentrated fashion, requires a good deal of time, which seemed already well filled by other engagements. In the end I settled the dilemma with the conclusion that, like any serious student of musicology, I would in any case have to peruse the book and that, furthermore, other reviewers would doubtless complete the picture by dealing with those problems I would have to bypass or treat cursorily because of lack of specialized knowledge. Indeed, the multilateral character of this book and the wealth of information contained in its pages would properly require a group of specialists for an appropriate evaluation.

This being so, the still more urgent question arises whether it was foolhardy of the author to undertake such a venture single-handedly, or almost so. I am not sure of the answer, but, on the whole, I believe in *absolutisme éclairé* in the literary field. I admire the author's energy and will-power, which enabled him to complete so huge a task by himself; only in this way could the work attain such concentration and unity.

Some books are written, as it were, for their authors' spiritual liberation or self-gratification, i.e. as the necessary result of an inner urge. Such books usually make fascinating or enjoyable reading, but their lasting value, if a scientific topic is involved, is not always equal to their esthetic merit. On the other hand, there are books that owe their existence to their authors' desire to serve others; in such cases the primary impulse is pedagogical — one might even say, ethical. And

although it often becomes apparent that Mr. Reese was much stirred by his subject, it seems to me nevertheless that his book belongs more properly in the latter category. Above all, his intention has been to present the musicological profession with a monumental survey, not only of the music of the Renaissance, but also of the results of all research in that field up to the present. His success is evident. Of course, it was unavoidable that his work often assumed the predominantly reportorial character of a compilation; however, even in those cases the author's critical judgment is always present, and he rarely fails to offer independent views, with which the reader can agree or disagree as he sees fit.

The book is supported by impressive learning and insights. Naturally, Mr. Reese was unable to do independent research in every one of the innumerable fields covered, but he did study exhaustively all, or almost all the published, as well as quite a bit of unpublished, material. The bibliography alone, which comprises 63 pages of fine print, is an extraordinary achievement, and its results are always referred to with great care. Unfortunately, the readers' task has often been made quite difficult, more laborious perhaps than necessary, even though in this respect the book shows some progress over its predecessor (the author's *Music in the Middle Ages*). One is constantly faced with the necessity of leafing back and forth, in order to decode, with the aid of the complete alphabetical listing of titles at the very end of the book, the abbreviations of titles in the text or footnotes — the abbreviations being at times neither very significant nor standardized. Another system might well have been more practical; in any case, it would seem to me preferable to print the bibliography as a separate booklet in future editions, so that the reader can keep it next to the book. Especially this type of book, which owes its special importance to its author's unusual familiarity with the pertinent literature, ought to be arranged in such a way that its information is imparted in the simplest and most painless fashion possible.

The book is divided into two main parts: *The Development of the Central Musical Language of the Renaissance in France, the Low Countries, and Italy* and *The Diffusion and Development of the Musical Language of the Renaissance in the Hispanic Peninsula, Germany, Eastern Europe, and England*. The first part presents a general chronological survey of the international developments from the end of the 14th century until c. 1600. The second part starts all over, but

now the author offers separate chronological accounts of the music of individual countries. Included are sub-chapters written, not by the author, but by eminent national specialists, on music in Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the Adriatic Coastal Areas of the Southern Slavs. It is a pleasure to find useful information about the musical cultures of areas that are generally neglected; one would only wish that this were also the case with other countries, such as the Scandinavian nations, which are dealt with in undeservedly laconic and superficial fashion (Finland, Sweden, and Denmark together fill one page!).

This division into musically central and peripheral nations is, of course, a somewhat precarious procedure, but it is practical nevertheless. And there can only be agreement with the author when he says: "This distinction has nothing to do with the comparative intrinsic merit of the various bodies of music, but only with the separation of local dialects from the central language. Indeed, such local productions as the 16th-century music of Spain and England provide artistic expressions quite in a class with the best music of France, Italy, and the Low Countries."

In the main, the book's tendency is of an expansive nature, it aims in a remarkable way at completeness. Not only stylistic trends, but biography, bibliography — nearly everything is included, and with a very high degree of exactitude and thoroughness.

To my mind, style criticism is the field in which the author makes his most independent and valuable contributions. His analyses of Flemish Masses, for instance, (especially those by Obrecht and Josquin) seem to me as good and as penetrating as anything written on the subject. Even where Mr. Reese assigns to his book the role of clearing-house for information assembled by others, his judgments are not only clear-headed and prudent, but even have a personal quality. One might almost say that he acts like a judge weighing the various statements of the opponents in order to arrive at the right solution. Usually, he proceeds with careful deliberation, but occasionally he pronounces judgment a bit rashly, as, for instance, in the cases of *faux-bourdon* and conflicting signatures, about which discussion is still going on with no final result in sight.

It is, of course, inevitable that occasional errors, inaccuracies, and omissions should slip into so huge an undertaking, and in this connection I may perhaps be justified in submitting some comments.

As was mentioned before, there is a wealth of bibliographic notes, in which only a few listings of some importance seem to be lacking. I have looked in vain for publications such as A. Dondi's *Il Duomo di Modena* (1896), C. Scotti's *Il pio Istituto Musicale Donizetti in Bergamo* (1901), G. Radiciotti's *L'Arte musicale in Tivoli* (1907), L. Landucci's *Per le tradizioni musicali Lucchesi* (1906), A. Spagnolo's *Le Scuole Accolitali in Verona* (1904), G. Turrini's *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti musicali antichi della Società Accademia Filarmonica di Verona* (1937), and *Franchino Gaffurio* (Edizioni dell' Arch. Storico Lodigiano, 1951). A misprint is likely to account for the information that the *Note d'Archivio* ceased publication in 1932 (actually, 1942); further errors are the statements (pp. 893 and 915) that the publication of the *Diarii Sistini* in the same journal was concluded in Vol. XIII (1936) — they were continued in Vols. XIV-XVII (1937-40) — and that a manuscript copy exists of Jespersen's *Graduale*.

To the sources of *J'ay pris amours* (p. 100) should be added an intaglio in the "Studio" of Federigo da Montefeltro in the castle at Urbino. The Credo of Ockeghem's *Missa sine Nomine* (the designation is questionable, since there is none whatever in the only source known so far, the Chigi Cod. C, VIII, 234) seems to me to show clear relationships to the closely related Credos I and II of the Grad. Vatic., not only in the intonation, but elsewhere as well (cf. especially *Et vitam venturi* [Tenor II] with the corresponding place in Credo II).

It seems doubtful to me whether Tinctoris's first rule (p. 144) has anything whatever to do with a supposedly freer use of the 6/5 chord, since it only states that an imperfect consonance may be used occasionally at the beginning or end of a composition. That Tinctoris only talks about beginnings and endings is easily and fully explained by the fact that there was no prohibition against the use of imperfect consonances anywhere else in a composition.

As far as I know, a copy of Antico's *Canzoni sonetti strambotte et frottole, libro tertio* from the year 1513 is no longer extant (cf. p. 156, note 15a). The copy cited by Reese (from the library of Henry Prunières) bears no publication date. However, it does contain the privilege given to Antico by Leo X on 3 October 1513 (not 1516, as stated by Reese). The same privilege can be found in the 1518 edition of this collection (formerly Bibl. Landau). The description in the catalogue of Hernando Colon (in Seville), *Canzoni soneti stramboti et frottole libro 3° et sunt 40.5867. R.1513*, cannot be a reference to the Prunières

copy, since the latter lacks the designation "libro 3°." Incidentally, the copy of the Marucelliana at Florence should not be dated 1517—as do Vogel and Einstein—but 1520, a supposition supported by comparison of this Antico publication with others as well as with information contained in Colon catalogues.

The title *Frottole intabulate da sonar al organo* given by Reese on p. 161 is incorrect, though it is correctly stated on p. 528. The poet Galeotto del Caretto is not represented for the first time in the fifth book of Petrucci's Frottolas, since his name already appears in the third book, which is true of Petrarch as well. The sonnet *S'io sedo a l'ombra* is as likely to be by Tromboncino as by Marchetto Cara, since in Petrucci's fifth book the initials B.T. are added in the *tabula*.

Brocco's setting of *Ite caldi sospiri* is referred to by Reese (p. 161) in Schering's arbitrary, incorrect version (GMB 69), according to which the piece has an uncommon musical form (abbc abbc cde cde); actually, its form is that customary for sonnets (abbc, abbc, abc, abc), except that the last text line of the first stanza is repeated twice with independent musical material, which practice is likely to have obtained with the other stanzas, too.

The text for Ex. 32 fared rather poorly in Mr. Reese's book (p. 162). *Saltare* should read *saetare*, *piuma* should be *penna*, and *Ve* appears incorrectly for *Se*. Moreover, there is a mixup in the order of the text lines above the second brace (3-4-1-2 instead of 1-2-3-4). And the statement that the quatrain that occasionally concludes the *capitolo* has independent music can surely be applicable only to its last line.

The Gafori bibliography in HirB (p. 179, note 147) is incomplete; excluded are the *Epistola prima Franchini Gafurii Musici in solutiones obiectorum Joannis Vaginarium Bononiensis, Mediolani quartus idus Martii MDXXI*, and the *Epistola secunda apologetica Franchini Gafurii etc., Mediolani Nono calendas Junii 1521* (cf. ZFMW XII, 77-78). Incidentally Gafurius was in Mantua in 1474 and in Naples four years later (Ch. Franchino Gaffurio, 1951, 133).

The author proves his fine insight when, anent Obrecht's intricate writing, he remarks that "actually, his procedures are no more complicated than those frequently employed by Bach; they are simply different" (p. 199). His treatment of these problems is very clear throughout and reveals his sovereign grasp and wide view, which, nonetheless, never cause him to lose sight of important details. It may seem noticeable, therefore, that he does not mention that special type of



melody construction which is a particularly frequent feature of Obrecht's compositions. The constructive principle might well be called cumulative, since it simply involves the addition of a new tone in scalar sequence to a short motif each time it is repeated.

For example (from *Missa Salve diva parens*, Obr MS I, 228, Bass):

```

o o d d d d d
e f e f e f g . . . . e f e
e f e f e f g a . . . . e f e
e f e f e f g a b . . . e f e
e f e f e f g a b c1 . . e f e
e f e f e f g a b c1 d1 . e f e
e f e f e f g a b c1 d1 e1 e f e

```

The strange dissonance in Ex. 42 (p. 226) must be due to a misprint in the original edition (the second note in the alto part in the third measure of the lowest brace should probably be a, rather than b).

The statement (p. 260) that Antoine Brumel was found at the court of Leo X in 1513 is questionable. It is true that, according to a passage from a manuscript by Vincenzo Galilei cited in LowBV, 178, Brumel and eleven other Flemish or French composers listed in this source are supposed to have arrived in Rome in 1513, the first year of the pontificate of Leo X. However, he does not seem to be listed in the account books of the Vatican, and Galilei's statement is in this case suspect. Thus, Antoine Fevin, who died in 1511 or early in 1512 (cf. MGG IV, 142), is included in his list of these composers; and that Josquin des Prez should have been in Rome in 1513 is hardly likely in view of the lack of any further evidence. The following circumstances may well account for Galilei's statement. The ten composers represented in the first book of Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* (1514) all belong to the group of twelve mentioned by Galilei; the remaining two—Lupus and Richafort—are included in the second volume. Now, while the first two books of the Corona motets have come down to us only in editions dated 1514 and 1519, both contain a privilege granted by Leo X, dated 22 October 1513. The most reasonable conclusion may therefore be that these editions prompted Galilei to connect the composer's names with the occasion of Leo's installation.—The old question as to whether or not Antoine Brumel was finally employed as chapel master in Ferrara (cf. MGG II, 399) can be regarded as answered affirmatively by the letter cited in BautJ, 103. According to information kindly supplied by the director of the Arch. di Stato in Mantua, this letter, of little interest otherwise, was signed by "A.

Brumel Maist. de ch.le du duc de Ferare." The letter is undated, however, and the date 1520 was added much later and for unknown reasons by an official of the archives. Jaches Brumel (p. 260) — probably a younger relative of Antoine — was court organist at Ferrara from March 1533 until April or May 1564, according to information kindly supplied by the state archives in Modena.

In this chapter as well as elsewhere there is abundant evidence of the author's penetrating research work on Maldeghem's *Trésor musical*. In general, the bibliographic comments (cf. especially pp. 319 and 367) are frequently very detailed and incisive and constitute an essential contribution.

To the biographical data regarding Crispin van Stappen (p. 276) should be added that in October 1492 he became chapel master at the Cathedral of Padua, but went to Rome after some months without having obtained a leave of absence. However, he returned to Padua as early as August 1498 to resume his former post for one year only (cf. NA XVIII, 16ff.).

The important composer Fra Ruffino Bartolucci (p. 285) was custodian of the Sacro Convento from 1537 to 1539 (NA XVIII, 31), and from 1525 to 1531 seems to have found employment with Baglione Malatesta in Perugia (TebAP, 2). In addition to those of his compositions mentioned by the author two motets and two secular songs should be listed (in *Motetti e Canzone, Libro primo*, Morgan Library, New York; cf. A. Einstein, *A Supplement*, in MQ XXV [1939], 507 ff., an essay not to be found in Reese's bibliography).

To the Masses on Mouton's motet *Quaeramus cum pastoribus* (p. 282) should be added one for four voices by Pre Gasparo de Albertis, chapel master at S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo (*Il Primo Libro delle Messe, Venetiis*, 1549).

The first note in the tenor of Ex. 74 (p. 332) should certainly be changed from d to c, thus eliminating the strange parallel fifths and the unusual treatment of the sixth chord. The passage in question is simply a repetition of the preceding two measures and should probably be corrected accordingly:



The four-voice Mass *Christus resurgens* by Lupus (*Liber primus Missarum quinque cum quatuor vocibus, Hier. Scotus, Venet., 1544*) could be added to the others based on Richafort's motet (p. 337).

As regards "passing six-three chords in minims against a stationary voice" (p. 355), such chords may be encountered in works by Palestrina, too; a famous example may be found in PalW, V, 72, 2, 4ff.

In addition to the two Masses in the Vat. Bibl., two others by Costanzo Festa (p. 362) are known so far—one for four voices in Capp. Giulia Cod. XII, 2 (a chanson Mass *diversorum tenorum*), the other for five voices with the chanson *Se congie pris* as *cantus firmus* (MS A. Aug.Folio, Wolfenbüttel).

The supposition that Jachet Berchem was organist in Ferrara (p. 366) goes back to EitQ I, 452, which contains a note from Cinciarino's *Introduttorio* of 1555 regarding a "Jaches organista dell' Eccellentissimo & Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Ferrara." This was undoubtedly not Jachet Berchem, but Jaches Brumel, whom we identified as court organist in Ferrara.

It is still not quite clear whether, once the church of S. Barbara had been established, there were two independent musical establishments in Mantua (p. 408). We only know that the duke in a letter dated 27 August 1578 (Arch. Gonzaga B. 2986), i.e. only thirteen years after the dedication of the church, lamented S. Barbara's lack of sufficient funds to pay for its own music, so that to assure an appropriate execution of church services he was forced to send his court musicians into the church. That G. de Wert retained a position as *maestro* at the ducal court after he had become too old to continue as chapel master of S. Barbara may mean simply that he functioned as court composer or perhaps as supervisor of music; this is also borne out by various documents (cf. BertolM, 45 ff.).

There has been a good deal of difficulty in placing the enigmatic Francesco Roselli (p. 449); but to make him a participant in the reform movement after the Council of Trent would hardly be a factual procedure. He may have been identical with the Frenchman François Roussel, as Reese points out, following Kandler's speculations. That may be so, but what seems certain is only that he has nothing to do with the Rosetto whose most recent Mass composition was sent in 1562 from Rome to the court at Munich, because this Rosetto was upon that occasion mentioned as a singer in the Papal Chapel. The Mass, a *Missa Ultimi miei sospiri* for six voices, was copied in Munich into the still



gives Kerle, if anyone, the right to the title 'saviour of church music,' once bestowed upon Palestrina on the basis of an unfounded legend associated with his *Missa Papae Marcelli*" (p. 451f.).

Nor can it be assumed with such certainty that the story concerning this Mass is a mere legend; at any rate, the author errs (p. 480) in attributing it to Baini (1828). It goes back at least to the following passage in Agostino Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra a'l basso* (1607), p. 11:

... because, when all parts are sung, it is impossible to understand either the sentences or their meaning, since they are interrupted and covered up by the imitations, which cause different words to be sung simultaneously by the various voices. This displeases intelligent connoisseurs, and thus it came to pass that a pope was on the point of banishing music from the Holy Church, when Giovan Palestrino took things in hand and pointed out that not music but the composers deserved to be blamed; to prove his contention he composed the Mass called *Missa Papae Marcelli*.<sup>1</sup>

Not only was this written as early as about 45 years after the conclusion of the Council, but it is also confirmed by many other, apparently independent, reports, the details of which agree more or less with those furnished by Agazzari. De Kerle's *Preces*, on the other hand, have only recently been brought into the discussion, and none of the older sources attributes to them any importance whatever for the Tridentine reform of church music. Mr. Reese then continues as follows: "It has been proved that this Mass, although it happens to comply with the Council's wishes for simplicity and clear text declamation, was completed some time prior to the meetings of the Council and even before the accession to the papal throne of Marcellus, for whom the Mass was later named" (p. 480), causing the reader to regret that the author here abandons his usually excellent habits and omits the source of his information. I, for one, know of no such proof (also cf. Renato Lunelli, *La polifonia nel Trentino con speciale riguardo al Concilio*, 1947, a work that is not included in the bibliography).

Apart from this, Mr. Reese's treatment of Palestrina reveals the

<sup>1</sup>... poichè cantandosi a tutte le voci, non si sente ne periodo, ne senso; essendo per le fughe interrotto e sopraposto; anzi nel medesimo tempo ogni voce canta parole differenti dall'altro; il che a gl' huomini intendenti e giudicosi dispiace et poco mancò, che per questa cagione non fosse sbandita la Musica da S. Chiesa, da un sommo Pontefice, se da Giovan Palestrino non fosse stato preso riparo, mostrando d'esser vitio, ed errore de' compositori, e non della Musica; ed a confermentatione di questo fece la Messa intitolata: Missa Papae Marcelli.

same up-to-date thoroughness and accuracy that is typical of almost all his biographic essays. It is all the more astonishing, therefore, that he neglects to mention the remarkable fact first reported by Casimiri (*Memorie Musicali Prenestini del sec. XVI*, NA 1924, which, incidentally, is one of Casimiri's finest achievements and definitely should have been listed in the bibliography) that the aged Palestrina, having held the most outstanding positions Rome had to offer in the field of church music and having become world-famous, was planning to return to his first modest position as organist at the cathedral of his native town; only his death prevented him from carrying out his intention. This is a psychologically significant trait, not only of the Italians in general — Italians have always clung tenaciously to their native soil —, but even more so of the personality of the thoroughly conservative master. One of his contemporaries characterized him with the words *Circulum absoluisti* (CeroM, 91), which tend to describe the course of both his actual and his spiritual *modus vivendi*.

Reese's treatment of Palestrina's works is very detailed and offers much that is new and original. A complete synopsis of all the Masses, comprising even the most recent discoveries, is very valuable. It lists the works according to title and date of publication, as well as according to type; in addition, there are important remarks, including comments about pre-existent material used by the composer. Mr. Reese establishes the following categories: Tenor, Parody, Canonic, Paraphrase, and Free Mass. To my knowledge, the term paraphrase Mass is new; it denotes those Masses that are based on a monophonic—sacred or secular—source. It should be noted, however, that most canonic Masses also belong to this category; moreover, parody Masses are likewise paraphrases, the only difference being that they are based on a pre-existent polyphonic composition (motet, madrigal, chanson, etc.).

In my opinion, 16th-century Masses are best divided into two main types: (1) First-hand Masses (or Free Masses), with themes invented by the composers for these specific works, i.e. the *Missae sine nomine* or *De Fantasia*, as they were usually called in the 16th century; and (2) Second-hand Masses (or Derived Masses), i.e. Masses based on pre-existent material, regardless of whether this is monophonic or polyphonic. No further subdivision is necessary for the First-hand Masses. As to the others, I should prefer a subdivision into mono-transcriptions and polytranscriptions, depending on whether they are derived from a monophonic or a polyphonic source (I should like to avoid the term parody, because it inevitably connotes travesty and

thus conveys inaccurate expressive implications). Further subdivisions would correspond to the diverse types of models and to the different styles and techniques:

### Thematic Relations

#### A. First-hand Masses

- |                       |   |                       |                   |   |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| B. Second-hand Masses | { | 1) Monotranscriptions | {                 | a) Church tunes (incl. Alternatim Masses) |
|                       |   |                       | b) Secular tunes  |   |
|                       |   | 2) Polytranscriptions | {                 | a) Motets etc.                            |
|                       |   |                       | b) Chansons etc.  |   |
|                       |   |                       | c) Madrigals etc. |   |

### Other Stylistic Criteria

- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1) Strict canonic | {                                       | a) With or without canon                        |
|                   | b) With or without <i>cantus firmus</i> |   |
| 2) Imitative      | {                                       | c) With <i>cantus firmus</i> and canon combined |

Finally a few specific comments concerning Palestrina's Masses: The madrigal *Quando lieta sperai*, on which Mass No. 70 is based (p. 471), seems to be by Morales and not by Cipriano de Rore (cf. KJ 1953, p. 59, and JAMS 1954, p. 141); in addition to Nos. 79-81 (p. 477), No. 28 is also one of the Masses for antiphonal choirs; the themes of the Agnus of No. 83 are derived from Mass IX (GR); and Mass No. 43 is based on Hieronimo Maffoni's motet *Dilexi quoniam*:

#### Ex. 2

Ex. 2 shows musical notation for two settings of the Kyrie. The first system compares Maffoni's setting (left) and Palestrina's setting (right). Maffoni's setting features a vocal line with the lyrics "Di-le-xi quo-ni-am" and a basso continuo line. Palestrina's setting features a vocal line with the lyrics "Ky-ri-e" and a basso continuo line. The second system continues the comparison, showing Maffoni's setting (left) and Palestrina's setting (right). Maffoni's setting features a vocal line with the lyrics "e-lei-son, Ky-" and a basso continuo line. Palestrina's setting features a vocal line with the lyrics "Christe-e-lei-son" and a basso continuo line.

The model is contained in Cod. 1209 D. of the Arch. Mus. di S. Maria



Maggiore in Bergamo (f. 71'-73). This manuscript contains several motets by this composer, whose name I have not encountered anywhere else so far. He probably hailed from Brescia, where c. 1540 lived a family of musicians by that name (cf. NA I, 134).

The biography of Giov. Contino (p. 492) should be corrected to the effect that he was chapel master in Mantua not from 1561 on, but only from 1561 to 1565.

The problem of *musica reservata*, unfortunately still an enigma, is treated by the author (p. 513 ff.) with due circumspection. His translation of a passage from Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* differs somewhat from that given by Lowinsky in LowC, 90, but both are defensible. That *riservata* is here to be understood as the opposite of *communa* (corresponding to the distinction made by Lowinsky) seems probable, considering all the material known so far. To help in bringing the term *musica communa* into focus I offer a few quotations from letters. Vicentino, who (*l.c.*) defines *musica communa* as "quella che tutti i professori di Musica compongano in questo tempo," mentions in a letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga in Mantua, dated 15 December 1555 (Arch. Gonz., Mantua, B.1252 [Ferrara]), that he had some time earlier dispatched to Mantua a copy of a printed essay—probably the above-mentioned treatise, which had just been published—and that up till then he had heard nothing about any performance of the ten 5-part madrigals that had been sent along with it. He goes on to say that he feels they may well seem strange to persons inexperienced in the new musical idiom and that, therefore, he decided to send to the duke a motet for seven voices, a madrigal for six voices, and a dialogue for twelve voices, "che sono facili da cantare, et quasi fatti della communa Musica; acciò che, li non troppo pratici, non si disperino, et che così apoco, apoco, usandosi canteranno ogni sorte di Musica, come facciamo noi, per hora" etc. ("which are easy to sing and are written almost in the style of ordinary music so that those who are not fully accomplished may not need to despair, but may gradually get used to singing all kinds of music, as we do now," etc.). It follows that Vicentino, in spite of his experimentations and innovations, had nonetheless not departed so far from the older practice as to consider its use below his dignity when it seemed indicated. Generally, his letters reveal that he felt the primary difference between old and new usage to lie in the diatonicism of the one as against the chromatic or enharmonic character of the other; however, the matter of freer expressive treatment of the text also played a role in his concept of the new style. It seems, therefore,

that the term *communa* had for Vicentino less a qualitative (with a connotation of, say, banal, or trite) than a stylistic meaning. There is an equally interesting passage in a letter from Palestrina to the same Duke Guglielmo, dated 3 March 1570 (cf. Acta XXV, 156). Palestrina, discussing a few of the duke's compositions, which the latter had sent him for evaluation, comments on the beautiful, uncommon artistry and the animated expressive treatment of the words ("il bello artificio lontano dal commune, et il dare spirito vivo alle parole"). The master then makes some remarks regarding the contrapuntal technique in these pieces and finally adds that to his mind the closely spaced imitations obscure the words for the listeners, who thus cannot appreciate them, while this is possible in ordinary music ("... mi pare ancora che per la stretta tessitura delle fughe, si occupino le parole alli ascoltanti, che non le godono, come nella Musica commune . . ."). Thus, Palestrina's idea of the *musica communa* clearly involves clarity of text treatment and therefore corresponds, at least in this respect, to his own stylistic ideals.

A misprint in HabR, 122 (cf. *ibid.*, 67) apparently accounts for the statement (p. 543) that Marco Antonio Cavazzoni was one of the private chapel musicians of Leo X in 1515. At any rate, this early date is not supported by Introit. et exit. segret. Pontif. No. 554 of the Vatican archives. Incidentally, biographical information about Girolamo Cavazzoni is to be found not only in the dedication of his *Intavolatura* etc., but also in BertolM, 37. As his own letters prove (Arch. Gonzaga, B.2573), he was organist at S. Barbara in Mantua in 1565. That he should have been the same person as the Mantuan organist Hyeronimo, who held this position as early as 1525 (cf. BertolM, 34), seems impossible for chronological reasons.

But, this review, like everything else, has to come to an end. In concluding, I should like to stress that all the comments I have had to make are only trifles compared to Professor Reese's imposing work, which constitutes a really essential contribution to musicology. To be sure, it is a book to be studied rather than to be read, and more appropriate for teachers than for pupils; but no one who has a serious interest in musicology can afford to disregard it. Not only is its treatment of the subject the most thorough and exhaustive presented so far, but its status as a reference work of very high quality (and this perhaps first and foremost) will, I am sure, enable it to maintain a strong position in musicology for an extraordinarily long time.

KNUD JEPPESEN

COMPOSITION WITH TWELVE NOTES. By *Josef Rufer*. Translated by *Humphrey Searle*. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1954. Pp. xiv, 218, with twenty-four tables of musical examples.)

We have here an authentic presentation of Schoenberg's own ideas on the subject of twelve-tone composition. The personal authority that Herr Rufer can claim as Schoenberg's spokesman<sup>1</sup> nowhere prompts him to elaborations which may not be derived from, or which are not at least consistent with, Schoenberg's own writings. Liberal extracts from the latter are neatly woven into the text, and the musical examples, except in a few special cases, are drawn entirely from Schoenberg's compositions. The author's restraint is paralleled by that of his translator, who explains in the preface that the translation "has deliberately been kept as close to the original as possible" and that "free paraphrase has generally been avoided." In fact, the translation is so close to the original that it is frequently not even in idiomatic English. After comparison with the German text and due consideration of the author's philosophical orientation, however, it becomes clear that Mr. Searle should not be held entirely responsible for certain problematical locutions. For example: "What law this is would have to be searched for in actual music which has been created" (p. 107); "Law, in this sense, in twelve-note music as in any other, is the ordering and unity of the musical organism of a work" (p. 108). For Herr Rufer a "musical organism" is separable from a musical work and one may formulate propositions about "actual music" that has not been created.

This point of view, implied throughout the book, is explicitly stated in the opening chapter, the subject of which is Schoenberg's method "as Part of the General Theory of Composition." Page 3: "An idea is . . . universally valid and, in contrast to its various concrete manifestations, remains general and non-individual. Anyone can rethink it at any time and give it a new and individual shape . . . As soon as this process of thought and formation enters the realm of consciousness, it uses for the realization of the 'shape' [*Gestalt*] a definite means of presentation — the technique." Statements of general principles of this sort seem to be required of every good German theorist and one scans them without their entering "the realm of consciousness," in the ex-

<sup>1</sup> P. vii: "He was Schoenberg's pupil and his assistant at the Prussian Academy of Arts in the 1920s; after Schoenberg's enforced departure for America in 1933 they nevertheless managed to remain in contact, in spite of the political difficulties of the time, right up to Schoenberg's death in 1951. Schoenberg had actually begun an active collaboration in this book."

pectation that the author will thereafter either restrict himself to propositions about "actual music which has been created," or that he will adequately define his areas of discourse so that the reader can determine to which kind of "actual music" the propositions refer.

Herr Rufer does not fulfill these expectations. On the contrary, his initial concepts are exploited throughout the book to justify his failure to employ elementary terms in any consistent way. Thus, there are lengthy discussions of musical form in which it is impossible to determine whether the author means by this term the unique configuration of musical elements that differentiates one composition from another or whether he is referring to those general structural relations that define a given set of compositions as belonging to one or another "form." Precompositional and compositional elements are confused with one another, so that the student is called upon to exercise his creative imagination in "composing" axiomatically predetermined material relations. The nature of a musical "law" is not elucidated, but this does not restrain Rufer from the wholesale invention of such "laws." There is "the law of the original conception," "the tendency of the shortest notes," the "law" of "the ordering and unity of the musical organism of a work," the "law of the unity of time and space." A truly Keplerian conception is connected with the last-named "law": "In rhythm we find the imitation of sounds of different pitch translated into the dimension of time. The octave = two-part rhythm; the fifth (fundamental note with the octave and fifth as overtones) = three-part rhythm" (p. 48). A possible consequence — that Schoenberg's prohibition of the octave should have entailed his prohibition of binary time — is not considered. One of the proofs of "the unity of time and space," offered by Schoenberg himself, is that a composer uses space in order to notate temporal relations! These remarkable analogies are not idle speculations but are invariably conceived with some specific end in very plain view. The Einsteinian space-time continuum is required, Schoenberg supposes, to prove the validity of the twelve-tone principle of deriving chords through the verticalization of set-segments. Moreover, he finds it necessary to establish that this same principle operates in traditional music. Rufer, p. 48: "The simultaneity of the notes of a chord can be changed into consecutiveness." From this we are to infer, presumably, that consecutiveness in general can be changed into simultaneity! It is admitted that twelve-tone chords are not functional harmonies, but this "corresponds to polyphonic music in that in both cases the chord-like sounds

which arise from part-writing have no 'obligation' in the sense of harmonic function" (p. 127).

The central thesis of Rufer's book, although implied in Schoenberg's own explanations of his method, has not been elsewhere elaborated — the thesis that beyond the series there is a primordial idea, or "shape," the *Grundgestalt*, ultimate source not only of the series but also of the totality of compositional elements derived from the series. In his preface Mr. Searle quotes from a letter by Herr Rufer:

In his composition teaching, Schoenberg formed the concept of the *Grundgestalt* (basic shape) as early as 1919 and used it with the exact meaning which it has in my book — as being the musical *shape* (or phrase) which is the *basis* of a work and is its "first creative thought" (to use Schoenberg's words). Everything else is derived from this — in music of all kinds, not only twelve-note music; and it is not derived merely from the basic *series* which is contained in the basic shape, but also from *all* the elements contained in the basic shape — that is to say, those elements which, together with the series as the melodic element, give it its actual shape, i.e. rhythm, phrasing, harmony, subsidiary parts, etc.

Rufer's presentation of this concept is the only significant contribution of his book, important because it reveals much that has heretofore been unclear concerning both the origins of Schoenberg's method and the method itself. But Rufer's elaboration of this concept is, unlike the twelve-tone system, not "of a general and fundamental significance which goes beyond the works of its creator." He gratuitously assumes that the validity of a principle is established by analogy, glibly improvises upon the nature of both tonality and atonality in his search for appropriate comparisons, confirms his results in the realms of the "unconscious," the "relatively unconscious," and the "subconscious." This is not to say that his analyses are devoid of insight, at least in his discussions of tonal and pre-dodecaphonic atonal music. But the relevance of these analyses to the question at hand is never proved. He admits that, while "we find that other means besides tonality have the power of creating forms and tensions . . . these forces were so closely associated with tonality that they were practically assimilated by it, and played no independent part of their own" (p. 27). A few pages later he forgets all about the dependence of the thematic element in tonal music and defines the thematic element as the "basic shape," in a perceptive but one-dimensional analysis of a Beethoven sonata. The "basic shape," having been established as the generator of the linear relations in tonal music, is next assumed to be the generator of the series in twelve-tone

music. Finally, the series is equated with "the key and the domination of the key-note" in the major-minor system (p. 108), in relation to which the thematic element presumably "played no independent part." "The continuous circular motion of motivic intervals" in twelve-tone music is paralleled by a second circular derivation (pp. 136-137): of the "basic shape" from the motif, the series from the "basic shape," and the motif from the series.

Since this is one of the very best books that has yet appeared on the twelve-tone system, it seems relevant to conclude our review with Rufer's final remark: "What happens unconsciously is always more than what we can achieve by conscious thought."

GEORGE PERLE

JOHANN WALTER, *Sämtliche Werke*. Vol. I, *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* (Wittenberg, 1551); Part I, *Deutsche Gesänge*, ed. Otto Schroeder, pp. xx, 136. Vol. II, *Cantiones latinae*, ed. Otto Schroeder and Max Schneider, pp. viii, 184. Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel-Basel, 1953. (In the U.S., Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.)

The massive editions of the complete works of composers owe their existence to the maxim, long ago recognized in the field of literature but of fairly recent origin in music, that critical appraisal of a creative mind demands a comprehensive picture of its output. It is for this reason that we endeavor to publish *complete* works of the masters, major and minor, even though much of this material will seldom leave the seclusion of the study room. But the student will want to know even the obscure works in order to follow the genesis of a style. Furthermore, such integral editions sometimes bring to light masterworks heretofore neglected or unknown, and not infrequently the entire stature and significance of a composer may be completely changed by virtue of such an edition. A case in point is the new edition of Johann Walter's collected works, of which the first two volumes are before us.

Walter, always dutifully cited as Luther's right hand and principal musical adviser in the great task of organizing the music of the new Church, nevertheless has remained a rather nebulous figure as a composer. And yet he was a key figure in the development of a specifically Protestant devotional music, the "spiritual song," and his *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* (Wittenberg, 1524) was virtually the first publication

of the genus. This earnest servant of the Lutheran cause, a retiring man of a very engaging personality, practically never composed anything but church music.

Even though Walter had been recognized as a composer of note by Otto Kade, who in 1878 edited and published the first Wittenberg *Gesangbüchlein*,<sup>1</sup> nothing noteworthy, aside from some scattered single compositions in anthologies, had been done to resuscitate this valiant composer of the Reformation. As the late Professor Schroeder points out in the Preface, Walter's name does not even appear in Riemann's great History of Music!

This excellent edition rectifies the neglect and supplies a much needed reappraisal of Walter. The value of the contribution afforded to our knowledge of an important phase of musical history is immediately apparent, even though the present two volumes represent only one third of the projected edition—four more volumes are to follow in short order. We have known and appreciated the fresh and delicate chorale settings, such as are printed in the first volume of this edition, but no one has really known the Latin works of Walter. In fact, the few examples heretofore available showed a composer so superior in the métier that even eminent scholars were of the opinion that these motets must be another man's work. Seen in proper perspective, there can be no doubt about their authenticity, and we can now consider Walter a worthy colleague of many of the far more celebrated composers of this rich century.

And, of course, the student of music is fascinated to observe the trials of an able musician, brought up on this very Latin liturgic music, as he wrestles with the problem of building music on entirely new premises.

The edition of the *Urkantor's* works is handsome. It is thoroughly scholarly, with excellent introductory essays, yet the score can be used without further ado for actual performances of this interesting music.

P. H. L.

FONTES ARTIS MUSICAE. Review of the International Association of Music Libraries. Vladimir Fedorov, Editor. Vol. I. 1954.

The growth of the International Association of Music Libraries, a quiet, hard working, and most useful organization, is perhaps best illus-

<sup>1</sup> In Vol. VII of *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*.



trated by this impressive journal which succeeds the modest *Information Bulletin*, heretofore circulated only among members. The organization now has a mouthpiece that ought to interest a far wider circle of readers than the professional librarians.

The title is aptly chosen, for indeed, the library is the "fountainhead" of our musical life, especially since, besides scores and books, a modern library now collects and administers not only microfilm and other up-to-date library materials, but phonograph records and tapes too. It is the library that makes these available, and it is the quality of its stewards that can make a library an invaluable cultural institution.

The first issue of *Fontes Artis Musicae* contains worthwhile contributions to the techniques of administration, several articles of general interest, and information on how many nations deal with the problems of the day.

We greet the new periodical warmly and wish it success. Those of our American libraries that are not yet members of the International Association should weigh seriously the advantages of participating in this praiseworthy venture, one of the happy examples of successful international cooperation; they will profit by it in more ways than one.

P. H. L.

## REVIEWS OF RECORDS

GABRIELI, ANDREA & GIOVANNI: *Organ Music*. Giuseppe de Donà, organ.  
12" LP. Vox PL 8470.

Sixteenth-century Italy witnessed the emergence of a number of types of solo organ music, the most important — ranging from the freest to the strictest — being the *intonazione*, *toccata*, *fantasia*, *canzona*, and *ricercare*. We owe their development mainly to the work of five men, all of them organists at St. Mark's in Venice covering the period 1541-1612: Buus, Padovano, Merulo, Andrea Gabrieli, and the latter's nephew Giovanni. The two Gabrieli are the most significant, and this record presents a good cross-section of their output. (Most of the selections may be found in the first two volumes of Tagliapietra's *Antologia*.)

The performer here, Giuseppe de Donà, has provided his own jacket notes, wherein he states that he has "intentionally held in this version to the 'simple' style of playing determined by the techniques and the acoustic possibilities of that period, instead of 'interpreting' in accordance with present-day facilities." A noble statement, but one that his knowledge does not permit him to fulfill entirely.

### *Andrea Gabrieli*

The restrained *Toccata del X tono* has inapposite registration. The *Canzon ariosa* is notable for its especially charming themes. The *Fantasia allegra del XII tono* is founded on three themes, but the second is a modified inversion of the first, and the third a figured version of the second.

The *Ricercare del V tono* is bithematic. The *Ricercare del XII tono* is actually a *canzona* for strings, with perhaps too much repetition. Its form is rounded through a middle *pastorale* section and a *da capo* of the first section.

### *Giovanni Gabrieli*

The *Intonazione e ricercare* illustrates the same concept of pairing a free and a strict form that became so common in the Baroque between the prelude, *fantasia*, or *toccata* and the *fugue*. This *ricercare* is really

a jaunty canzona, but the former term was surely retained because the piece was not a translation of a pre-existent chanson.

The remarkable *Canzone la Spiritata* has six clearly differentiated sections, of which the second is a pastorale played far too slowly. (Why are pastorale movements always performed like a dirge? They represent after all the joyous rusticity of the *pifferari*.)

There are two fantasias, one on the 6th tone and one on the 4th. The former is trisectional with a toccata-like finale. It suffers from sequences that don't know when to stop. The dialogue passages were undoubtedly intended for organs with divided registers. For some reason de Donà has omitted the written *groppi*. The other piece is first-rate and quite similar to a monothematic *ricercare* with ornamented cadences.

The title of *Fuga del IX tono* is not contemporary, a *fuga* then designating a canon. At any rate, Tagliapietra has called it "the first real fugue," while Reese (*Music in the Renaissance*, p. 541) says it is "not a fugue in our sense." Even if one considers fugue a form instead of a procedure of composition (like blank verse), this piece qualifies even more than some of Bach's fugues; and it is based on a single subject, with a countersubject and episodes derived from the countersubject. De Donà adopts a good tempo, but omits the ornaments at the end. The *Ricercare del X tono* is also a true monothematic fugue with tonal answers and episodes (and some too long sequences).

The *Ricercare del VII e VIII tono* is monothematic; while another *ricercare* without further identification exploits simultaneously four different themes, not three as Reese states (*ibid.*). The final selection is the *Toccata del II tono*, a commonplace item padded with *Stimm-tausch*. The piece wanders aimlessly, and any effect it has depends on a full sonority, here lacking. The tempo is too slow, so that the *groppi* cease to be ornaments.

Though this release is a step in the right direction, a definitive recording of this progressive music remains to be made.

CALDWELL TITCOMB

GIOVANNI GABRIELI: *Motets*. Cappella di Treviso, cond. Giovanni D'Alessi.  
12" LP. Vox PL 8830.

The cultural significance of the Venetian sacred motet of the last two decades of the 16th century is in some respects analogous to that

of the chansons of the Dufay period, so imaginatively described by Huizinga in his *Waning of the Middle Ages*. The Venetian motet for *cori spezzati* represents the last flaring up of Renaissance polyphony. It reaches its peak in the early motets of Giovanni Gabrieli, whose late motets already belong to the Baroque, just as Dufay's four-part Masses are already works of the Renaissance. Both composers mark the end of an era, the esthetic ideals of which they sum up in their superlative achievement. Their achievement, however, is characterized by a sophisticated, reflective mood rather than by the spontaneity and freshness appearing in a newly-found expression. (Both have that freshness in their works ushering in the new style.)

Of Gabrieli's works recorded on LP discs in recent years, this part of his music has been rather neglected — to the great detriment of our understanding of his Baroque motets of the later period. In these, accompanied vocal solos, organ *continuo*, instrumental participation in the polyphony and in the timbre, and — above all — tonal harmony, all seem to have sprung "fully armed" out of Gabrieli's pen. The obvious reason for this neglect is that there are few, in fact hardly any, centers where these motets are still cultivated. Such centers would be the logical sources for good recordings, just as the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes or the Trappist monastery of En Calcat are the sources of the best recordings of Gregorian Chant.

Luckily, the Cathedral of Treviso, an old dependency of the *Serenissima Repubblica*, boasts a men's and a boys' choir which may be said to possess an almost unbroken tradition of polychoral singing and, more important, a *maestro di cappella* who unites in his person the finest qualities of a practical choir-director and of a musicologist. Monsignor Giovanni D'Alessi, while cultivating the art of Venetian multi-choral music in live performances in the Treviso cathedral, probed deeply into the history of this music, and found some fully developed examples in works antedating those of Willaert, previously hailed as the inventor of the *coro spezzato*.

The body of Gabrieli's motets of his earlier period comprises fifty-five pieces. Five of these were published in 1587, forty-six (including a Kyrie, a Sanctus, and a Benedictus) in 1597. Four more were published in 1600. From this body, Monsignor D'Alessi chose twelve pieces — three from the first source, nine from the second — for the present recording. They afford an excellent opportunity to obtain a first-hand, because aural, impression of this music, rich indeed in examples of the genius of Gabrieli. The twelve chosen pieces appear in a well-organized

sequence based on fine contrasts and framed by two somewhat more spectacular specimens, an eight-part Magnificat and a ten-part *Domine exaudi* for double choir. Aside from these two, there is only one *coro-spezzato* piece in the collection: the eight-part Christmas motet *O magnum mysterium*. (To be exact, *O magnum mysterium* is the only one fully exploiting *spezzato* technique. The Magnificat relies more on its beautifully soaring subject, and the *Domine exaudi* is written mostly for the full choir — logically, since it has no melodic subject but a chordal one, and is based on the effects drawn from homophony.)

Nine of the recorded motets are for six and seven real parts, giving the impression that this was regarded as the standard conservative number of parts in the second decade before the turn of the 17th century, just as four and five were the rule in the Obrecht-Josquin period although we not infrequently encounter twice as many there. Giovanni's teacher, Andrea, is supposed to have studied with Willaert, and the evidence of Giovanni's technique in these works tends to bear out such a chain of tradition, since these compositions show the best Franco-Flemish manner in all aspects. The entries of the voices — either as subject or as countersubject—, their conservative range and rhythm, the texture of the whole in its variation between clear and dense, the rare and audacious use of extra-modal chromatic tones, the fine discrimination in style in the setting of the words — prayer, praise, annunciation, or commatic text — all are spiritual descendents of the Josquin style.

The listener will find these recordings extremely rewarding, provided he does not — and he should not — expect virtuoso performance or perfect finish. There are men's choirs trained specifically for concert performance and boys' choirs that concentrate on attaining a tone production of unsurpassed beauty. In this performance there are some uneven spots. The boys' attacks are sometimes a bit raw and not together by a fraction of a second; the men's voices are sometimes lacking in finish. But the men and boys of the Cathedral of Treviso Choir offer authenticity of style, religious fervor, and that naturalness and ease of performance that comes only of constant practice. This music, after all, is *Gebrauchsmusik*, in the best sense of the word, just as are Bach's cantatas. Gabrieli's motets may be sung with or without organ and with or without instrumental participation. Monsignor D'Alessi chose the more austere *a cappella* manner. In this way, nothing distracts our attention from the great variety of combinations of registers — as in *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* and *Beata es Virgo Maria* — and from

the rhythmic vigor of such passages as on the words *invocavero* and *velociter* in *Domine exaudi*, and *gloria patri* in the Magnificat.

It seems almost superfluous to state that there is a total absence of striving for effect in this performance. The result is that the listener feels he is not talked down to. He has to find for himself the beauties of the compositions, such as the contrapuntal weaving in *Ego dixi Domine*, the chordal richness of *Domine exaudi*, or the contrasts in range in *O magnum mysterium* and *Beata es Virgo Maria*. They are there.

The present recording is definitely a most valuable addition to our collection of Renaissance choral music.

EGON KENTON

HAYDN: *Trumpet Concerto in E-flat*; *Harpsichord Concerto in D*. George Eskdale, trumpet; Erna Heiller, harpsichord; Vienna State Opera Orchestra, cond. Franz Litschauer. 12" LP. Vanguard VRS-454.

In Haydn's creative output the concerto does not occupy a very prominent position. Unlike Mozart, he was not an outstanding virtuoso and he revealed little interest in a type of composition that is often mainly concerned with the display of technical brilliance. While he gained in artistic stature and succeeded in establishing a style of his very own, he gave less and less time to the production of concertos; the majority of such works was created during the formative years, and only very few originated at the time of his full maturity. Though these last compositions are of a high quality, they were for a long time not associated with Haydn's greatness. It is significant for the attitude of 20th-century music-lovers that doubts were persistently raised regarding the authenticity of Haydn's highly successful 'Cello Concerto, doubts removed but recently through the rediscovery of the original manuscript. This work was composed in 1783, when Haydn, after a period of indifference, was again attracted by the concerto. At about the same time he wrote his exquisite Clavier Concerto in D major, first published in 1784. From the outset it won the hearts of music-lovers; numerous editions were issued in quick succession, and today four different recordings of the D major Concerto are available. In the latest, the youthful soloist performs with great verve and sparkle, and is at her

best in the dazzling final "Rondo all'Ungherese." The orchestration in this concerto was planned by Haydn with particular care and the superb performance by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra illuminates every delightful detail of the score.

However, this writer cannot help feeling doubts with regard to the basic approach of the performers; he is wondering whether the use of the harpsichord in this concerto is fully justified. Artistic as well as historic considerations seem to point towards the piano. It is true that Haydn's early keyboard concertos were meant for harpsichord or organ. He subsequently wrote, however, a sizable number of sonatas for the new pianoforte, and there is little reason to assume that an artist of Haydn's progressive attitude should after 1780 have designated a concerto for a rather outdated instrument. The publisher Artaria cautiously announced the concerto as meant for "clavicembalo ò fortepiano" and we may well assume that the usual commercial considerations were responsible for the mention of the harpsichord (a policy even adopted for Beethoven's early sonatas). On the other hand the lovely cantilenas in the second movement and the romantic B-minor episode in the finale, supported by Alberti basses, seem to call for a more flexible, singing, and smoothly flowing tone than can be achieved on the harpsichord. In particular an expressive motif, based on tone-repetition, that plays a large part in the melodic life of the middle movement assumes a soulless, drumming quality if performed on the harpsichord. A recording of the same concerto is available in which the solo part is played on a modern piano (Mercury 10047). In spite of the obvious shortcomings of this interpretation it seems to come closer to the intentions of the composer than the performance on a harpsichord. The ideal solution would be to use neither the rigid Baroque harpsichord nor the lush Romantic piano, but instead a small 18th-century piano with a clear and limpid tone well suited to interpret the restrained emotions in Haydn's music.

On the other side of the record Vanguard offers Haydn's last concerto, written in 1796 for the *Klappentrompete* (keyed trumpet) and orchestra. The composer, ever fascinated by progress, was inspired by an invention of the Viennese court trumpeter, Anton Weidinger, to write this concerto. The new device enabled the performer, through the application of keys, to play a chromatic scale even in the middle and low registers, and Haydn enjoyed experimenting with this instrument. Weidinger's invention became outdated when the system of valves was introduced; today Haydn's concerto is always performed on the modern



instrument and not on the *Klappentrompete*, which, according to the verdict of Haydn's contemporaries, had a weak tone approaching that of an oboe.

This writer professes to have been somewhat instrumental in the revival of the Trumpet Concerto. In the summer of 1938 he arranged a series of lecture-recitals on Haydn for the British Broadcasting Corporation, the sixth of which (June 23, 1938) dealt with the master's last phase of composition. As one of the examples the second and third movements of the Trumpet Concerto were performed, for which a copy was used that he had made from the original manuscript in the collections of the "Society of Friends of Music" in Vienna, while serving as its curator. The two movements were played by George Eskdale and the BBC orchestra; the performance pleased so much that Mr. Eskdale subsequently recorded the two movements. In 1951 the Haydn Society of Boston produced a recording of the complete work played by the Viennese trumpeter Helmut Wobitsch, and now Vanguard issues the entire concerto, again performed by George Eskdale. Both soloists offer superb interpretations, that of Mr. Wobitsch showing perhaps a slight superiority in dramatic quality and brilliance, while the reading of Mr. Eskdale might seem preferable to some listeners because of its beauty of tone and musicianship.

Vanguard offers these fine concertos in a recording of technical perfection. The jacket notes contributed by H. C. Robbins Landon are highly readable and instructive.

KARL GEIRINGER

MONTEVERDI: *Vespers of 1610*. (Ed. Leo Schrade.) Margaret Ritchie, Elsie Morrison, sopranos; William Herbert, Richard Lewis, tenors; Bruce Boyce, baritone; Geraint Jones, organ; Ruggero Gerlin, harpsichord; The London Singers; Ensemble Orchestral de L'Oiseau-Lyre, cond. Anthony Lewis. 2 12" LP. Oiseau-Lyre (London) OL-50021/2.

In contrast with its radical departure in style, Monteverdi's *Vespers of 1610* departs surprisingly little in plan and text from the liturgical prescription for the vespers service. It opens with *Domine ad adiuvandum*, the beginning of the musical section of the Vespers, and it includes the five psalms used in the First Vespers in the Feast of the Blessed

Virgin Mary: *Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate pueri*, *Laetatus sum*, *Nisi Dominus*, and *Lauda Jerusalem*. There is also a setting of *Ave maris stella*, and a concluding Magnificat, which appears in two versions. Strictly in accordance with the liturgy, psalm texts are used in full, and the *Gloria Patri* follows the *Domine ad adiuvandam*, the Magnificat, and each of the five psalms. What is more, all of these pieces are *cantus-firmus* compositions based on the liturgical psalm tones.

With the antiphons prescribed for the Magnificat and the psalms, however, Monteverdi has deviated from liturgical use. He has simply omitted the antiphons of *Dixit Dominus* and the Magnificat, and in the compositions preceding the remaining four psalms he has in no case used the correct antiphon. *Nigra sum* has an extended text made up of the antiphons required for the following two psalms, *Pulchra es* is an antiphon taken from a lauds service, *Duo seraphim* is a respond belonging to the liturgy of matins, and *Audi coelum* again has no place in the vespers office. Besides treating the antiphons in this unorthodox fashion, Monteverdi has added to the service a striking orchestral Sonata, which uses the litany *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* as a vocal *cantus firmus*.

But these liberties do not change the over-all picture of adherence to the liturgy, and they seem especially modest when they are set against the stylistic innovations. For Monteverdi unhesitatingly applied the modern practices of the time to the liturgical sphere, and he even set off the method by publishing along with the Vespers a parody Mass which re-creates the perfected style of Gombert's motet *In illo tempore*. The contrast between the Mass and the Vespers was of course not just a demonstration of versatility or a device to attract attention: Monteverdi's later Masses show that he regarded this supreme Catholic rite — or at any rate, the musical part of its Ordinary — as a realm apart, too solemn or too sacred, perhaps, for the application of the modern styles to seem appropriate. In the Vespers, on the other hand, not only does the splendor of early Baroque antiphony, vocal and instrumental, play a full role, but so does the still newer *stile rappresentativo*, of which Monteverdi was the special fostering genius. The larger world of orchestral and choral antiphony finds its application in the psalms, while the dramatic and more intense manner of opera and madrigal is used consistently in the antiphons. Here we come upon the supercharged emotion of the operatic solo and duet, freely composed, but with repeated sections that evidence a tendency towards musically determined form. These compositions are dominated by a concern with the *affetti* of the text, and they make considerable use of expressive ornamentation. In the

*cantus-firmus* pieces, a typical multi-layered texture is the vocal or instrumental canonic duet fitted against the more slowly moving psalm tone, with the *continuo* as background of the whole. This is an ideal solution to the polyphonic use of the psalm tones, which really have too little interest for thematic or motivic purposes, and at the same time, it permits a freer and more modern kind of melody in the voices of the duet.

The employment of a uniform style in both religious and secular music is certainly not an occasion for surprise. The real novelty at the time was that secular music began to set the pace in the interchange. Along with the stylistic freedom there is a freedom in function, for the title-page states that the Vespers is "adapted for use in chapel or in palace." It is fairly evident, then, that Monteverdi assumed a rather liberal attitude towards the work. To be sure, if one of the Magnificat settings is omitted (as it is in the present recording), the music can be used intact as a somewhat freely treated — and rather lengthy — vespers service. But we have the composer's explicit sanction for its non-liturgical use as well. And in view of the two Magnificat settings and the unorthodox antiphons, it is equally permissible to look upon the work as a collection of music that could be used only in part.

Perhaps the Vespers represents less a contrast between tradition and progress than it does a compromise. There is even a fusion of the past and the new in the polychoral element, for the whole efflorescence of antiphony, which represented a progressive force at this time, was not only in keeping with plainsong tradition, but was actually a reactivation of a mode of performance that almost had become extinct. And interestingly enough, it was in the vespers office that antiphony had its strongest hold.

It is just this prominence of antiphony, unfortunately, that constitutes a stumbling block to recording, for conventional techniques of reproducing sound are simply unable to convey the effect of different directions. The different locations of two groups can be suggested, of course, by a difference in loudness, or even by a difference in recorded reverberation, but these are merely ways of tagging the two groups, and they are obviously no substitute for an actually perceived difference in position. The nature of the deficiency can be seen by means of an extremely elementary instance. In the hymn *Ave maris stella*, the second stanza is sung by one chorus and the third by another — a simple effect that is a fairly important part of Monteverdi's conception. Yet in a recording

there is no way of telling that the performers have changed. The novelty and the freshness that the composer intended us to feel at the beginning of the third stanza (not to mention the quiet but impressive union of the choirs in the first and last stanzas) have disappeared. Unless we are told — and there are no informative notes with the present recording — there is actually no way for us to know that we are listening to an antiphonal setting. When this imperfect kind of realization is imposed upon the overlapping antiphony of *Nisi Dominus*, with its two five-part choruses, and upon the complex relationships of variously located performers throughout the Vespers, the loss takes on a truly serious aspect, for this music finds much of its structural resource in spatial juxtaposition. The independence of the various voices is impaired when they cannot be separated in location; the sustained *cantus firmi*, for example, often seek an enhanced distinctness that is based on the distinct positions of the performers.

In presenting an echo effect, reproduced sound is much more successful, for a reduction in loudness and an increase in reverberation are the natural accompaniments of a distant sound, or of an echo, and recording is easily able to convey both of these changes. The echoes of *Audi coelum* are quite effective, although the reverberation is a bit overdone. Excessive recorded reverberation also keeps the singer of *Nigra sum* slightly too far away from us, but this is certainly preferable to the unrealistic nearness with which we usually have to contend, and it maintains a sense of a large room and of the continued presence of numerous performers — an awareness that is necessary when vision is ruled out of the listening experience, and especially important in a work that frequently employs only small sections of its performing force for long periods of time.

The performance in the present recording is excellent, and the editing is confined to a strict realization of the score.

EDWARD ARTHUR LIPPMAN

REED: *La Fiesta Mexicana*; MENNIN: *Canzona*; PERSICHETTI: *Psalm*; THOMSON: *A Solemn Music*; HANSON: *Chorale and Alleluia*. Eastman Symphonic Wind Ensemble, cond. Frederick Fennell. 12" LP. Mercury MG 40011.

It is no longer news that in recent years a number of composers of repute have written works for wind band. In this recording, and in

a companion one released some months earlier, Frederick Fennell and Mercury Records have presented a better than fair sampling of what American composers have accomplished in this medium; it is, in fact, unlikely that there are more than half a dozen other American band works that might be worth recording. Despite the quite serious efforts of a small number of musically ambitious bandmasters to interest composers in the band, the qualitative and quantitative results of commissions and exhortations have been rather disappointing. There are exceptional pieces: Mennin's *Canzona*, Thomson's *A Solemn Music*, and Persichetti's *Divertimento*, for example, sound as if good composers were writing without condescension; many of the others do not. Of the present group of works, Hanson's *Chorale and Alleluia* and Persichetti's *Psalm* cannot be ranked among their composers' best efforts. H. Owen Reed's *La Fiesta Mexicana* (which occupies all of one side of this LP) is an agreeably colorful, slightly pretentious folk symphony, owing a bit to Copland and others. All of these pieces are scored with impressive skill, proving again what ought to be obvious: that composers do better with instruments (in any combinations) than do arrangers.

Since band music is written primarily for amateur players, and for audiences of simple tastes, it is unfair to expect in it qualities that would be as inappropriate as they would be unwelcome. One detects a certain nervousness on this score in a good deal of the current composing for band, and one must grant that the conditions governing this species of utilitarian music are especially tricky. Most of the pieces here recorded meet the demands of milieu more than adequately; with their differences of style (and, perhaps more significantly, in degree of sophistication) they are fairly representative of the best that is being done in band music today.

Fennell's group is not a band of the conventional sort. It is a relatively small combination without massed clarinets or other doublings. This has advantages, especially in recording. The sound is very clean, the playing neat, and the balance in general excellent. I do not in the least miss the mushiness of sound that many bandmen seem not only to tolerate but to enjoy. If Fennell's example has any counter-effect on the mania for 400-piece bands in the colleges, he will have performed a useful service. Mercury's engineers, incidentally, have done an excellent job in recording the ensemble.

RICHARD F. GOLDMAN

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: *The May Night*. Serge Krasovsky, bass; Serge Lemeshev, tenor; Valentina Borisenko, mezzo-soprano; Irina Maslennikova, soprano; Peter Volovov, baritone; others. Chorus and orchestra of the Moscow Bolshoy Theater, cond. Vasily Nebolsin. 12" LP. Vanguard VRS 6006/8.

*The May Night* is Rimsky-Korsakov's second opera. He wrote it in 1879, at a time when he was fascinated by stories of the fantastic and the supernatural. For his libretto he selected a tale by his favorite writer, Gogol. The story deals with the youthful love of the Ukrainian boy Levko for the beautiful Hannah; Levko's father, the village elder, is himself infatuated with the girl and refuses to allow his son to marry her. There are several comic characters: the wine distiller, the scribe, the village drunkard. The fantastic element is represented by a drowned Polish maiden who comes out at night from the water and helps Levko in his romance by producing a magically contrived letter from the chief commissioner ordering Levko's father to have the marriage of Levko and Hannah celebrated without delay under heavy penalty for disobedience.

Rimsky-Korsakov used many passages of Gogol's prose without alterations in the recitatives and even in the arias. The result was that the opera acquired a colloquial flavor. There was no attempt at operatic realism in the manner of Mussorgsky, but rather an adaptation of the common speech to a melodic line written according to purely musical considerations.

The first performance of *The May Night* took place at the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg on January 21, 1880, under the direction of the invariably strict and meticulous Czech conductor Napravnik. Rimsky-Korsakov, who once described Napravnik as "an inimitable wrong-note detective," was not particularly happy about the way Napravnik interpreted his operas, and he resented the cuts made by Napravnik at subsequent productions of *The May Night*. The opera was not too successful at the Mariinsky Theater. It was revived by a Moscow opera company in 1892 and for a time attracted good audiences, but it was eventually replaced in the repertory by *Pagliacci*, "a swindling score created by a modern musical careerist," as Rimsky-Korsakov ruefully describes it.

The performance by the soloists, chorus, and orchestra of the Bolshoy Theater in this first complete recording of *The May Night* is suffused with a sense that is nothing less than musical loving-kindness. Rimsky-Korsakov, who often expressed his bitterness at the carelessness with which his operas were produced at the Mariinsky Theater, would have

been enchanted by the affectionate care bestowed on *The May Night* by these Russians, most of whom were born after he had died. Serge Krasovsky gives a rollicking interpretation of the bumbling village chief; Serge Lemeshev, Soviet Russia's most popular tenor, is appropriately tender and passionate as the love-struck Levko; Valentina Borisenko does her best in the role of Hannah; Irina Maslennikova gives a vibrant performance as the tragic Polish maiden driven to suicide by a witch-like stepmother. The minor parts are done with the same artistry that animates the principals. Perhaps the most satisfying characteristic of Russian productions is the fine teamwork, in which there seem to be no secondary tasks.

Vasily Nebolsin conducts the ensemble of the Bolshoy Theater with verve and obvious understanding of every detail of the music. The recording itself projects a finely graduated range of sonorities when played on a good machine.

NICOLAS SLONIMSKY

SAEVERUD: *Rondo Amoroso*, Op. 14, No. 7; *Galdreslaetten - Symphonic Dances with Passacaglia*, Op. 20; *Sinfonia Dolorosa* (Symphony No. 6), Op. 19; VALEN: *The Cemetery by the Sea*, Op. 20; *Michelangelo Sonnet*, Op. 17, No. 1; *The Silent Island*, Op. 21. Oslo Philharmonic Orch. cond. Oivin Fjeldstad. 12" LP. Mercury MG 10149.

This recording of representative orchestral works by the two most distinguished composers to have appeared in Norway after the death of Grieg was made under the auspices of TONO, the Norwegian Performing Rights Society.

Like Grieg, Saeverud is attracted to Norwegian folk music, although he professes to have fully absorbed its influence and rarely uses actual folk melodies in his compositions. However, the rather acidulous quality of much of Saeverud's essentially conservative harmony can be attributed to modal elements possibly derived from Norwegian folk music. The *Rondo Amoroso* seems to illustrate this point fairly neatly. Yet its "bitter-sweet" harmony derives from a rather original treatment of the ascending melodic minor in which melodic and harmonic emphases are placed upon the tritones Eb-A $\sharp$  and B $\sharp$ -F, the third, sixth, seventh, and fourth degrees of C minor ascending.



On the whole it would be a mistake to deny Saeverud his own individuality. He is an extremely prolific composer who possesses considerable expressive range. His temperament is more robust than that of Grieg; he is capable of a rough peasant-like quality rather more suggestive of Bruckner. The *Galdreslaetten* illustrates this and, furthermore, demonstrates Saeverud's partiality to thematic metamorphosis as well as his orchestral virtuosity.

The *Sinfonia Dolorosa*, considered by Norwegian musicians one of the most significant of all Norwegian compositions, was written (according to the record notes) during the Occupation; and presumably it reflects the tragedy of those times. It is an extraordinarily intense piece, written with a rather swollen bombastic rhetoric. Undoubtedly it is the sort of piece that the great symphonic public will ultimately love because of its passion and emotionality, but that certain musicians might conceivably come to detest.

One suspects that Saeverud is a rather uneven composer (which is not surprising in view of his fecundity) and that he does his best with dance forms and folkloristic descriptive pieces. But there is something quite engaging about his forthrightness and vigor. These are qualities that one encounters all too rarely in the music of our time.

The late Fartein Valen, whose reputation as a leading dodecaphonic composer reached this country some years ago, is represented on this recording by three rather mournful works dating from 1932 to 1934. Without the scores it is rather difficult to determine whether they make systematic or consistent use of the twelve-tone technique. In idiom, however, they derive from Viennese Expressionism. (Valen greatly admired the music of Alban Berg.) They are highly chromatic, though more or less tonal; extremely expressive and intense, though they also reveal a rather Impressionistic feeling for sound and form. There is little rhythmic vitality; everything is melodic, sustained, and continuously *legato*. The lack of strong rhythm, the constantly disjunct chromatic melody, the persistent use of pedal, all contribute to an extraordinary sense of monotony within each composition. But what is more distressing is the realization that all three of the compositions sound so much alike. I tried the experiment of jumping from one piece to another in playing the recording. It all sounded like the same composition.

Valen was a highly poetic composer and a more sophisticated and cosmopolitan artist than Saeverud. These were qualities that undoubtedly must have attracted younger composers to him and that account for his

strong influence upon the younger generation in Norway. The extent of that influence can be gauged by the large number of dodecaphonists among them today, and also from the fact that shortly after Valen's death a project was established for the purpose of publishing his complete works.

The performances are not exceptionally good; the orchestral sound is wiry, lacks refinement, and is not very well balanced. The recording is mechanically adequate.

IRVING FINE

STRAVINSKY: *The Rake's Progress* (Opera in 3 acts with libretto by W. H. Auden). Soloists, Orchestra, and Chorus of the Metropolitan Opera Association; Ralph Kirkpatrick, harpsichord; cond. Igor Stravinsky. 3 12" LP. Columbia SL 125.

Achievement is so often reckoned in our time in terms of bulk that we tend to judge a composition not only by its length but also by its density, weighing the notes of a measure like vegetables on a scale. A monument of our century like *The Rake's Progress* of Stravinsky was roughly treated by most of the New York press, partly, I suspect (whatever the reasons given), because it did not fill the ample Metropolitan Opera House with sounds of anything near the sheerly physical carrying power of those in a Wagner opera. Listeners in that house, I am sure, had never been taxed with anything of such low decibel content as the graveyard scene in Act III, even though a piano was used instead of the intended harpsichord for the episode of more than ten minutes during which the orchestra is silent.

No section in *Così fan tutte* of comparable length is quite so muffled, but on the whole it is just about as subdued as the Stravinsky. Yet we prefer hearing the Mozart in a house too large for it to not hearing it at all. We make no such allowances where a contemporary work is concerned. Similarly, we do not dismiss old operas entirely because their librettos are faulty (*Fidelio*, for instance), but new opera scripts undergo a critical scrutiny that the most exalted products of the past would scarcely survive. Even if we grant that Act II of the *Rake* would have closed more effectively without the recitative that follows the duet about the "bread-machine," or that Auden's symbolism is strained, or that

several characters are "dispensable" to the story, there would still remain enough that is moving and absorbing and that has lent itself to superb musical and dramatic continuity on Stravinsky's part.

If I am being polemical it is because so many who should know better take it for granted the opera was a fiasco. Its success in smaller houses in Boston and Europe has been thoroughly eclipsed by the verdict of the powerful New York press. How fortunate we are that before the Metropolitan Opera Association shelved it, this excellent recording was made.

In face of the magnitude of Stravinsky's achievement certain reservations we may have had at first become very inconsequential, indeed, after several re-hearings — the pallor of Scene I, for example. Stravinsky wished to contrast Rakewell's plain rural life with the subsequent excitement of London, whither he repaired when an unknown "uncle" selected him for heir. It is like the casual Mozart main theme that takes on depth in retrospect after we have heard it subjected to powerful symphonic development. The mild opening of the *Rake* is essential to the ingenious plan whereby the stunning climaxes are prepared.

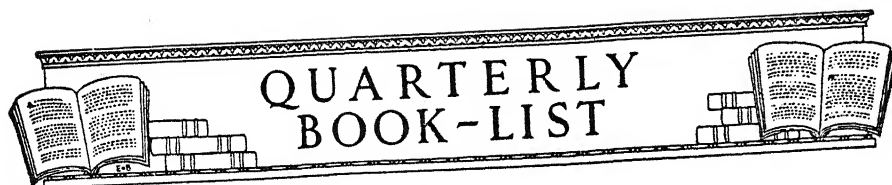
Among these climaxes the graveyard scene, if it suffers in a big house, is actually the most compelling. The accompaniment for harpsichord alone is an inspired touch, embodying at once the barrenness of the landscape, the turmoil of the characters, and the uncanniness of the situation. The atmosphere has already been prepared by a prelude for solo strings which grimly superimpose tonic on dominant in the low range of B-flat minor (which is in the relation of Phrygian second to the tone-center, A, of the opera). An awesome trumpet solo, starting unusually low (on E below middle C) and ascending almost two octaves, is heard at the end of the scene, echoing Nick's phrase, "Henceforth be you insane."

A list of this opera's glorious instrumental devices would far exceed the bounds of this review. I cannot resist mentioning at least the figure for flutes and piccolo, underpinning the bread-machine episode, and the scoring for two oboes between two trumpets in the duet (Act III) of Anne and Trulove. I do not wish to imply that chief interest lies in the orchestra pit. Tom's Cavatina and Anne's Cabaletta are worthy of inclusion in the finest aria repertory, and we become aware on closer acquaintance with the work of countless vocal beauties in subsidiary sections — for example, Baba's renunciation of Tom, followed by Anne's

self-recrimination. The use of adjectives and articles on accents and/or high notes seems inept only when we fail to accept it as stylized word-setting. Similarly, the unabashedly Mozartean recitative, which is one of many obvious allusions to this great operatic master, seems naive only if the ear is deaf to the subtle changes Stravinsky rings upon it — the surprising chord following the dominant that we had heard resolve earlier to its regulation tonic, or the blend of major and minor.

Since, as I have said, the *Rake* is, contrary to the general impression, a successful theater piece, it is an enormous tribute to it that it stands up so well on records, divorced from stage action. Not for a very long time has any opera been written that subsists so glowingly on its music alone. *Pelléas et Mélisande*, *Wozzeck*, *Mathis der Maler*, for all their excellence, tend to pall if we listen to them in their entirety without the accompanying visual elements. Stravinsky's re-instatement of such traditional patterns as the "footlight aria" is one of the main things that help the music survive on its own, and if this has done much to upset our neat historical categories, it should be remembered that the role of genius is not to cater to preconceived notions of evolution but to proceed in the most unexpected ways. The revival of the *da capo* aria takes surprising courage and there are still further surprises in the many inspired new ways in which he has filled it out and also, as Robert Craft has pointed out, in the "variety and invention of the bridgework" that binds the set-pieces and recitatives together.

ARTHUR BERGER



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PREPARED BY FRANK C. CAMPBELL

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